00066989

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 10 February, 2016

DISCOURSES AND DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINES

OF

ATONEMENT AND SACRIFICE:

AND ON

THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS ADVANCED, AND THE MODE OF REASONING EMPLOYED, BY THE OPPONENTS OF THOSE DOCTRINES AS HELD BY THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH:

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

66989

CONTAINING SOME STRICTURES ON MR. BELSHAM'S ACCOUNT OF

THE UNITARIAN SCHEME,

IN HIS REVIEW OF MR. WILBERFORCE'S TREATISE:

TOGETHER WITH

REMARKS ON THE VERSION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT LATELY PUBLISHED BY THE UNITARIANS.

BY THE LATE

MOST REVEREND WILLIAM MAGEE, D.D.

ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

THE FIFTH EDITION,

WITH NUMEROUS AND IMPORTANT CORRECTIONS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, STRAND; AND W. BLACKWOOD, EDINBURGH.

1832.

232.3
Mag/Di
66989
RCL
232.4
00066989

ILLUSTRATIONS

AND

EXPLANATORY DISSERTATIONS.

NO. XLIX.—SACRIFICES CONSIDERED AS FEDERAL RITES.

PAGE 43. (b)—Sykes, in his *Essay on Sac.* p. 59., explains sacrifices as "federal rites;" and represents them, as "implying, the entering into friendship with God; or the renewal of that friendship, when broken by the violation of former stipulations:" and in p. 73. he says, that the origin of sacrifices may be accounted for on the supposition, "that eating and drinking together were the known ordinary symbols of friendship, and were the usual rites of engaging in covenants and leagues;" this mode of entering into friendship and forming leagues with each other, being transferred by the ancients to their gods: and, in confirmation of this, he adduces instances from Homer, Virgil, Max. Tyr. and others, to show, that they imagined that their gods did actually eat with them, as they

ate with their gods. Thus, according to Sykes, Cain and Abel must both have eaten of the offerings which they brought: and this, indeed, he positively asserts, p. 179. But not only have we no authority from Scripture to presume this, but, as we shall see in Number LII., there is good reason to suppose directly the contrary.

It should follow, also, from this theory, that all those who offered sacrifices, antecedently to the Mosaic institution, must in completion of the ceremony have feasted upon the offering. Of this, however, no intimation whatever is given in Scripture. Jacob, indeed, is said to have called his brethren to eat bread: but it by no means follows, that this was part of the *sacrificial* ceremony. That he should invite his friends to partake in the solemnity of the sacrifice, and afterwards entertain them, is perfectly natural, and conveys no notion whatever of *feasting with God at his table.* But, besides, the holocaust, or burnt offering, was such as rendered it impossible that the sacrificer could feast upon it; the whole of the animal being consumed upon the altar: and that animal sacrifices, both before and a long time after the flood, were of this kind, is generally acknowledged. (*Script. Acc. of Sac. postsc.* p. 32.) This difficulty, indeed, Sykes endeavours to evade, by saying, that the holocaust being deprecatory and offered on account of sins, it was to be entirely consumed by the offerer, and no part reserved

for his own use, in confession that he did not think himself worthy to be admitted to eat of what was offered to God. (*Essay*, p. 232.) But now, if holocausts were the first sacrifices, it will scarcely be admitted, that an institution, which, for many ages after its commencement, absolutely precluded the possibility of feasting upon what was offered, should yet have taken its rise from that very idea. And, besides, if the renewal of friendship, to be expressed by the symbol of eating with God, were the true signification of the sacrifice, to what species of sacrifice could it more properly apply, than to that whose precise object was *reconciliation?*

It deserves also to be remarked, that almost all the instances by which Sykes supports his theory are drawn from early heathen practices. Now, it is notorious, that animals unfit for food were sacrificed in several parts of the heathen world. Thus, horses were sacrificed to the Sun; wolves to Mars; asses to Priapus; and dogs to Hecate. Besides, it is not easy to conceive, had eating and drinking with God been at any time the prevalent idea of sacrifice, how a custom so abhorrent from this notion, as that of human sacrifice, could ever have had birth. Nor will it suffice to say, that this was a gross abuse of later days, when the original idea of sacrifice had been obscured and perverted. (*Essay*, p. 347.) The sacrifice of Isaac, commanded by God himself, was surely not of this description: and it will

not be asserted that this was a sacrifice intended to be eaten: nor does it appear that Abraham had prepared any meat or drink offering to accompany it.—*B. Mord.* p. 814.

Upon the whole of Dr. Sykes's reasoning in support of this theory it may be said, that he has transposed cause and effect, and inverted the order and series of the events. For whilst, from the custom of contracting leagues and friendships by eating and drinking at the same table, he deduces the practice of feasting upon the sacrifice, and thence concludes this to be the very essence and origin of the rite, he seems to have taken a course directly opposite to the true one; inasmuch as, in the first sacrifices, *no* part being reserved, it was not until long after the establishment of the rite, when many were invited to partake in the sacrifice, that feasting became connected with the ceremony; and having thus acquired a sacred import by association, it was probably transferred to compacts and covenants amongst men, to bestow solemnity upon the act. See *Scrip. Acc. of Sacr. postsc.* p. 33.—Whoever wishes to see a full and perfect refutation of this theory of Dr. Sykes, may consult the second appendix of Dr. Richie's *Criticism upon modern Notions of Sacrifice.*

It must, indeed, be confessed, that names of still higher authority are to be found on the side of the opinion which Sykes has adopted. Mede and Cudworth, in the course of their

respective arguments to establish the Eucharist as a *federal rite*, had, long before the age of this writer, maintained the doctrine which he contends for: and in this they were followed, and their reasonings repeated, by Dr. Waterland, in his *Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacrament considered.* The main strength of the argument is marshalled by Mede in the four following reasons, which the reader, from the great celebrity of that writer, will naturally be desirous to see.

First, *Every sacrifice*, saith our Saviour, Mark ix. 49., *is salted with salt.* This *salt* is called, Levit. ii. 13., *the salt of the covenant of God;* that is, a symbol of the perpetuity thereof. Now, if the *salt*, which seasoned the sacrifice, were *sal fœderis Dei, the salt of the covenant of God*, what was the sacrament itself but *epulum fœderis, the feast of the covenant?*——Secondly, Moses calls the blood of the burnt offerings and peace offerings, wherewith he sprinkled the children of Israel when they received the Law, *The blood of the covenant which the Lord had made with them: This is*, saith he, *the blood of the Covenant which the Lord hath made with you*, Exod. xxiv. 8.—Thirdly, But, above all, this may most evidently be evinced out of the 50th psalm, the whole argument whereof is concerning sacrifices: there God saith, verse 5., *Gather my saints together unto me, which make covenant with me by sacrifice:* and verse 16., of the sacrifices of the wicked,

Unto the wicked God saith, what hast thou to do to declare my statutes, and take my covenant in thy mouth, seeing thou hatest instruction? &c.—Fourthly, I add in this last place, for a further confirmation, that when God was to make a covenant with Abram, Gen. xv., he commanded him to offer a sacrifice, verse 9., *Offer unto me* (so it should be turned) *a heifer, a she goat, and a ram, each of three years old, a turtle dove, and a young pigeon.* All which he offered accordingly, and *divided* them in the midst, laying each piece or moiety one against the other; and when the sun went down, God, in the likeness of a smoking furnace and burning lamp, *passed between the pieces,* and so (as the text says) *made a covenant with Abram, saying, Unto thy seed will I give this land,* &c. By which rite of *passing between the parts,* God condescended to the manner of men." The author then proceeds to show, that this custom of dividing the sacrifice and passing between the parts was usual with the Gentiles, and not unknown among the Jews: and, upon the whole, he concludes, as a matter decisively established, that sacrifices were in their nature and essence "*federal feasts,* wherein God deigneth to entertain man to eat and drink with or before him, in token of favour and reconcilement." (*Works of Joseph Mede,* p. 170—172.)

The opinions and arguments of a divine so learned, and a reasoner so profound, as Joseph Mede, should not be approached but with reve-

rence: yet upon close examination it must be evident that this great man has here arrived at a conclusion not warranted by his premises. For, as to his first argument, it manifestly proves no more than this, that the Jewish sacrifices, which were all offered under and in reference to *the* covenant which God had originally made with the Jews, (Lev. ii. 13. and Ex. xxiv.) were always accompanied with that which was considered to be a symbol of the perpetuity of that covenant. In this there was evidently nothing *federal*, nothing which marked the entering into a present covenant, or even the renewing of an old one; but simply a significant and forcible assurance of the faithfulness of that great Being with whom the national covenant of the Jews had been originally entered into.

If this reasoning be just, and I apprehend it cannot be controverted, the whole strength of the cause is gone: for the remaining arguments, although they undoubtedly establish this, that *some* sacrifices were of the nature of *federal rites*, yet they establish no more: so that the *general* nature of sacrifice remains altogether unaffected. In those cases, also, where the sacrifice appears to have had a federal aspect, the true state of the matter is probably this, that where there was a covenant, there was a sacrifice also to give solemnity and obligation to the covenant; sacrifice being the most solemn act of devotion, and therefore naturally to be called in for the

enforcement of the religious observance of any compact engaged in. Thus, the sacrifice, being but the accompaniment of the covenant, does not necessarily partake of its nature. In other words, although it be admitted, that where there was a covenant there was also a sacrifice, it by no means follows, that wherever there was a sacrifice there was also a covenant. That *some* sacrifices, therefore, had a federal relation, proves nothing as to the nature of sacrifice in general: and the conclusion, which we had before arrived at, remains, consequently, unshaken by the reasons which have been adduced by Mede.—Bishop Pearce's *Two Letters to Dr. Waterland* may be read with advantage upon this subject; although they contain many particulars in which the reflecting reader will probably not concur.

NO. L.—BISHOP WARBURTON'S THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF SACRIFICE.

PAGE 44. (c)—Bishop Warburton (*Div. Leg.* B. ix. ch. 2.) represents the whole of sacrifice as symbolical. The offerings of first-fruits he holds to be an action expressive of gratitude and homage: and in this way he accounts for the origin of such sacrifices as were eucharistic. But, aware of the insufficiency of the theory, which places the entire system of sacrifice on the ground of gifts, he proceeds to explain the nature of ex-

piatory sacrifice in the manner described in the page to which this Number refers.

It is to be lamented, that an ingenious writer, of whom I have had occasion in another place to speak in terms of commendation, should, in his view of the bishop's opinions upon this subject, have permitted himself to give support to that, which is certainly not among the most tenable of his lordship's notions;—namely, the idea of the human origin of sacrifice. This, too (though probably not so intended by the author), has been done in a way which has a powerful tendency to mislead the unwary reader: the professed object being to exhibit an impartial enumeration of the arguments on both sides of the question, whilst, in truth, a preponderating weight has been studiously cast in favour of one. I allude to *Mr. Pearson's critical Essay;* in the 4th section of which the reasonings of Spencer and Warburton, in defence of the heathenish origin and subsequent divine adoption of the rite of sacrifice, are treated with a complacency which they but ill deserve. The reasonings themselves, as they are elsewhere in this work largely discussed, I shall not here stop to consider.

NO. LI.—THE SUPPOSITION THAT SACRIFICES ORIGINATED IN THE IDEA OF GIFTS, ERRONEOUS.

PAGE 44. ([d])—Dr. Rutherforth, in a communication to Dr. Kennicott, collects from Gen.

iv. 20. that the introduction of *property*, or exclusive right, amongst mankind, is not to be fixed higher than the time of Jabal, the eighth from Adam. He is there said to have been the father, or first inventor, of מקנה: that is, says Rutherforth, not, as we translate it, *the father of such as have cattle*, (for he was clearly not the first of such, Abel having been a keeper of sheep long before,) but of *private property*; the word מקנה signifying strictly *possession* of any sort, and being so rendered in the Syriac version. (*Kennic. Two Dissert.* App. p. 252—254.) In addition to this it may be remarked, that the word מקנה seems to have been applied to *cattle*, merely because cattle were, in the earliest ages, the only kind of *possession*; and that, when there is nothing in the context to determine the word to that application, it can be considered only in its original and proper sense, namely, *possession*.

But whether this idea be right or not, it is obvious that a community of goods must have for some time prevailed in the world; and that, consequently, the very notion of a gift, and all experience of its effect upon men, must have been for a length of time unknown. And if the opinion be right, that sacrifice existed before Abel, and was coeval with the fall; it becomes yet more manifest, that observation of the efficacy of gifts could not have given birth to the practice, there being no subjects in the world upon which Adam could make such observation. Besides, as Ken-

nicott remarks, (*Two Diss.* p. 207.) "no being has a right to the lives of other beings, but the Creator, or those on whom he confers that right:" if then God had not given Abel such a right, (and that he did not confer it even for the purposes of necessary food, will appear from the succeeding Number,) even the existence of the notion of property, and the familiar use and experience of gifts, could not have led him to take away the life of the animal as a gift to the Almighty; nor, if they could have done so, can we conceive that such an offering would have been graciously accepted.

NO. LII.—ON THE DATE OF THE PERMISSION OF ANIMAL FOOD TO MAN.

PAGE 44. (°)—The permission of animal food evidently appears from Scripture to take its date from the age of Noah: the express grant of animal food then made, clearly evincing that it was not in use before. This opinion is not only founded in the obvious sense of the passage Gen. ix. 3., but has the support of commentators, the most distinguished for their learning and candid investigation of the sacred text.* But, as ingenious refinements have been employed to torture

* See *Munst. Vatab. Clar. Grot.* and *Le Clerc.* on Gen. ix. 3.; also *Shuckf. Connect.* vol. i. p. 81. and *Kennic. Two Diss.* p. 70.

away the plain and direct sense of Scripture upon this head, it becomes necessary to take a brief review of the arguments upon the question.

Two grants were made; one to Adam, and one to Noah. To Adam it was said, Gen. i. 29, 30.: *Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth; and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree, bearing seed, to you it shall be for meat; and to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life, I have given every green herb for meat.* Again, to Noah it is said, Gen. ix. 3., *Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you;* EVEN AS THE GREEN HERB HAVE I GIVEN YOU ALL THINGS. Now, whilst the obvious inference from the former of these passages is, that God's original grant of the use of his creatures for food, was confined to the vegetable creation; the conclusion to be drawn from the latter is found to be precisely similar, inasmuch as, had animal food been before permitted for the use of man, there had been no occasion for the specific grant to that purpose now made to Noah. And, in perfect agreement with this reasoning, we find the Scripture history of the period antecedent to the flood entirely silent concerning the use of animal food.

Dr. Sykes, however, can see nothing in the first grant to Adam, "but a general declaration of a sufficient provision for all creatures;" nor in

the second to Noah, "but a command to slay before they ate flesh:" flesh having from the first been used for food. (*Essay*, &c. pp. 177, 178.) In support of these extraordinary positions he employs arguments not less extraordinary.

1. He contends, that the former grant is necessarily to be understood with certain limitations; for that, as some creatures were not formed for living on herbs, and some herbs were of a poisonous quality, the grant cannot be supposed to extend to *every* green herb; and hence he infers, that the grant cannot be interpreted as enjoining or prohibiting any particular species of food; and that, consequently, animal food may be included. (P. 169—171.) But it seems rather a strange inference, even admitting the existence of noxious vegetables at the time of the grant, that, because it must in propriety be *limited* to a certain description of the things generally permitted, it might therefore be *extended* to a class of things never once named; or that, because a full power was given to man over *all herbs*, to take of them as he pleased for food, whilst *some* would not answer for that purpose, the dominion given was not, therefore, to relate to *herbs*, but generally to *all things* that might serve for human sustenance.

But, 2., he maintains, that, at all events, this grant of *herb* and *tree* for the food of man does not *exclude* any other sort of food which might

be proper for him. And, to establish this, he endeavours to show (p. 171—177.) that the declaration to Noah did not contain a grant to eat animal food in general, but only some particular sorts of it, such as are included in the word רמש, by which he understands creeping things, or such animals as are not comprehended under the denominations of beast and fowl; so that, admitting this to be a grant of something new, it was yet by no means inconsistent with the supposition, that sheep, oxen, goats, and such like animals, had been eaten from the first. Now, this directly contradicts his former argument. For if, as that maintains, the grant to Adam was but a general declaration of abundant provision, and consequently leaving man at full liberty to use all creatures for food, why introduce a permission at this time respecting a particular species of creatures?

But besides, רמש does not imply a particular species of animals, but denotes *all*, of whatever kind, *that move*. That this is the true acceptation of the word may be collected from Cocceius, and Schindler, as well as Nachmanides, (who is quoted by Fagius, *Crit. Sac.* on Gen. i. 29.) and the several authorities in *Poole's Syn.* on Gen. ix. 3.: and so manifest does it appear from the original in various instances, that it requires no small degree of charity not to believe that Dr. Sykes has wilfully closed his eyes against its true meaning. His words are particularly deserving

of remark. "*Throughout the law of Moses*, it is *certain*, that it (רמש) *never* takes in, or includes, beasts of the earth, or birds of the air; but a third species of animals different from the other two:" and this third species he conjectures to be, "all such, either fish or reptiles, that not having feet glide along." (p. 173.) Now the direct contrary of all this is *certain*: and had Dr. Sykes, in his accurate survey of the entire law of Moses, but allowed his eye to glance on the words contained in Gen. vii. 21. he probably would not have been quite so peremptory. ALL FLESH *died*, that *moveth* (הרמש) *upon the earth; both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing* (שרץ) *that creepeth* (השרץ) *upon the earth.* Here the *creeping things* are specially named, and included, together with all other creatures, under the general word רמש. And it is particularly deserving of notice, that in the 11th chapter of Levit., in which the different species of animals are accurately pointed out, those that are properly called *creeping things* are mentioned no less than eleven times, and in every instance expressed by the word שרץ: and yet from this very chapter, overlooking these numerous and decisive instances, Dr. Sykes quotes, in support of his opinion, the use of the word רמש in the two following verses: *Neither shall you defile yourselves with any manner of creeping thing* (שרץ) *that moveth* (הרמש) *upon the earth*, verse 44.—And again, *this is the law*

of the beasts, and of the fowls, and of every living creature that moveth (הרמש) *in the waters*, verse 46. Here, because the word רמש, which is a description of *all* moving things, (as has been shown above, and may be proved from various other instances,—see *Jenn. New. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 306.) is found connected with reptiles and fishes, it is at once pronounced to be appropriate to them; notwithstanding that through the entire chapter, whose object it is carefully to distinguish the different kinds of animals, it is never once used in the numerous passages referring specially to the reptile and fishy tribes as their proper appellation, and is translated in these two verses by the LXX in its true generic sense, κινούμενος, *that moveth.* So that Dr. Sykes might with as good reason have inferred, that, because *creeping things* are occasionally called *living creatures*, *living creatures* must, consequently, mean *creeping things.* To say the truth, if Dr. Sykes had been desirous to discover a part of Scripture, completely subversive of his interpretation of the word רמש, he could not have made a happier selection than the very chapter of Leviticus to which he has referred.

But, to leave no doubt, that the grant made to Noah was a permission for the first time of animal food, we find an express description of the manner in which this sort of food was to be used immediately subjoined: *But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not*

eat. Now, if animal food had been before in use, this injunction seems unaccountable, unless on the supposition, that it had been the practice, before the flood, to feed on the flesh of animals that had not been duly killed for the purpose; and Dr. Sykes's argument, which maintains, that this prohibition merely tended to prevent the eating such animals as died of themselves, or the eating the animal without having duly killed it, must rest entirely on the presumption that such had been the practice before. But on what ground he has assumed this, he has not thought proper to inform us: and the certainty, that, before the flood, animals were *killed* for sacrifice, seems not consistent with the supposition. It is curious to observe, that this argument adduced by Sykes falls in with one of the strange conceits of the Jewish Rabbins; it being a tradition of theirs, that there were seven precepts handed down by the sons of Noah to their posterity, six of which had been given to Adam, and the seventh was this to Noah, "about not eating flesh, which was cut from any animal alive." See *Patrick's Preface to Job*—also *Jennings's Jew. Antiq.*, vol. i. p. 147.

It must be confessed, however, that arguments of a nature widely different from these of Sykes have been urged in opposition to the interpretation of the several grants to Adam, and to Noah, contended for in this note. Heidegger, in his *Historia Patriarch. Exercit.* xv. § 9. vol. i. main-

tains, that the passage, Gen. i. 29, 30., is to be thus translated: *Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed*, &c. (*to you it shall be for meat*); NAY ALSO, *every beast of the earth, and every fowl of the earth, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth wherein there is life*, WITH *every green herb for meat.* This translation he defends, on the ground of the occasional use of the preposition ל, in the *inclusive*, or *copulative*, sense; whence he holds himself justified in explaining it here, as the mark of the *accusative*, not of the *dative* case. In support of this acceptation, he also produces some names highly distinguished in the annals of sacred criticism, viz. Capellus, Cocceius, and Bochart. And to reconcile this interpretation with the grant to Noah, which seems inconsistent with the idea that the right to animal food had been conveyed before the time of that patriarch, he considers this second grant but as a *repetition* of the first to Adam, and that the words, *even as the green herb have I given you all things*, are not to be understood as conveying now, *for the first time*, a right to the use of all creatures, similar to that which had been before granted with respect to the herbs and fruits, but merely as confirming the grant formerly made, of the green herb and of all living creatures, without distinction.

Now, although the particle ל is used in some few parts of Scripture, in the sense here ascribed to it by Heidegger, yet if we examine

the instances in which it is so applied, (all of which may be seen at one view in *Noldius Concord. Particul. Ebr.* pp. 398. 401.) we shall find, that it stands in those cases combined and related in such manner as to give a new modification to its general and ordinary meaning. But, surely, in the present case, no such modifying relation exists. On the contrary, the very frame and analogy of the sentence seem to determine the word to its usual *dative* signification. Having occurred twice in the 29th verse, and in both places manifestly in this sense (לכם, *to you,*) it then immediately follows in direct connexion, and this connexion marked most unequivocally by the copulative particle ו, (ולכל) so as to determine unavoidably the continuance of its application in the same sense. The word את, likewise, succeeds to the clauses enumerating the animal tribes in the 30th verse, precisely in the same manner in which it followed that relating to the human kind, in the preceding verse: and as, there, it is admitted to be the mark of the accusative, specifying the things allotted to the sustenance of the *human* species; so here, it is evidently to be used in the same sense, specifying those things that are appointed for the support of the *brute* creation. This analogy, however, Heidegger is compelled by his interpretation to overturn; and whilst he allows to the word this signification through the whole of the preceding verse, he here abruptly and

arbitrarily changes its application, and attributes to it the force of WITH, which is necessary to make sense of the passage, according to his mode of translating it.

How then does the matter stand? In two passages exactly corresponding, and immediately connected, the preposition ל, and the particle את, are arbitrarily applied in different senses, to make out the translation of Heidegger; whilst on the commonly received interpretation the analogy is preserved throughout, and the same uniform meaning is attributed to each particle in the corresponding clauses. Indeed, the version contended for by Heidegger is, upon the whole, so violent and unnatural, that it requires but to read the passage in the original, to be convinced that it is inadmissible; and perhaps nothing but the respectability of the names that appear in its support could justify its serious investigation. One advantage, however, manifestly attends the notice of it in the present discussion. It proves that the learned writers, who defend this interpretation, consider the commonly received version as utterly irreconcileable with the notion, that the first grant to Adam conveyed the permission of animal food. For if any of the arguments used by Dr. Sykes, and others, to show that it could be so understood, were deemed by these writers to have any value, they surely would not have resorted to this new and unwarrantable translation in support of that position.

In addition to what has been said, it may be proper to remark, that this new version of Gen. i. 29, 30. is so far from receiving any countenance from the Jewish writers, that they are nearly unanimous in the opinion, that the right of eating flesh was not granted until the time of Noah. See particularly *Abenezra*, and *Sol. Jarchi*, in their annotations on this part of Scripture. Heidegger also confesses, that the Christian Fathers, nearly without exception, concur in the same opinion. *Hist. Patriarch. Exercit.* xv. § 3.

" Objections, however, are drawn from the history of Abel's sacrifice; and from the distinction of animals into clean and unclean, antecedent to the flood. It is said, that as Abel's sacrifice had been of the firstlings of his flock, and as it had never been customary to offer any thing to God, but what was useful to man, it may fairly be concluded that animals were used for food even in the time of Abel. *Heideg. Hist. Patr. Exer.* xv. § 25.—To this the reply is obvious: that the principle here laid down is accommodated to particular theories of sacrifice: to such as place their origin and virtue in the notion of a gift to the Deity, or of a self-denial on the part of the offerer; and therefore the argument presupposes the very thing in question, namely, the origin and nature of sacrifice. But, besides, the conclusion will not follow, even admitting the principle; since Abel's flock might be kept for

the advantages of the milk and wool, and thus what he offered was useful to himself. Nor to this can it reasonably be objected, that, by the practice of the law, the *male* firstlings were offered, and that therefore Abel's offering could have deprived him only of the wool, the use of which might not yet have been learned: for it cannot with propriety be contended, that the first and more simple form of sacrifice should be explained by the usages of succeeding and far distant times, and by the complicated system of the law of Moses.

But again it is urged, that the distinction of creatures into *clean* and *unclean* (Gen. vii. 2.) proves animal food to have been in use before the deluge, inasmuch as such distinction can be conceived only in reference to food. To this it has been answered by Grotius*, that the distinction was made proleptically, as being addressed by Moses to those, who were familiar with this distinction afterwards made by the law: and again, by Jennings, (*Jew. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 151.) that such a distinction would naturally be made, from the difference observed to exist between the animals, without any reference to food; or that, though the use of them for food were held in view, the distinction might have been first made, at the time of entering the ark, when we find it first mentioned, and a greater number of those

* *De Ver. Chr. Rel.* lib. v. § 9. — See also *Spencer De Leg. Hebr.* lib. i. cap. v. § 1.

that were most fit for food then preserved, merely because God intended to permit the use of them in a very short time. But reasonable as these answers may appear, may it not be thought more satisfactory, to consider this distinction as relating originally, not to food, but to sacrifice: those creatures, which were sanctified to the service and worship of God, being considered pure; whilst those, that were rejected from the sacrificial service, were deemed unfit for sacred uses, or unclean? And agreeably to this idea, the word denoting *unclean* throughout the law, טמא, is put in opposition not only to טהר, *clean*, but to קדש, *holy*.* The distinction, then, of clean and unclean animals before the flood is admissible upon the principle of the divine institution, or even of the existing practice of sacrifice, without supposing the permission of animal food before the time of Noah.

In conformity with the above reasoning, we find the first use to which this distinction is applied in Scripture, *is* that of sacrifice; Noah having *taken of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings*†, (Gen. viii. 20.) Besides it is to be remembered, that the distinction into *clean* and *unclean* with respect to food, was entirely a different institution from the distinction into *clean* and *unclean* with respect to

* See *Cocceius* and *Parkhurst* on the word טמא.

† See *Pol. Synop.* on Gen. vii. 2.; compare also Gen. xv. 9. with *Jameson*'s note thereon.

sacrifice. (See *Patrick* and *Ainsw.* on Gen. vii. 2.) Dr. Kennicott's remark on this subject is deserving of notice. "Although the distinction of beasts into clean and unclean was not registered until we come down to Deuteronomy, (xiv. 3.) yet," he says, "this is no reason, why we should not suppose it introduced by God at the same time that he instituted sacrifice: for whoever considers carefully will find, that the law is in part a republication of antecedent revelations and commands, long before given to mankind." (*Two Dissert.* pp. 217, 218.—comp. *Ainsw.* on Gen. vii. 2.) Witsius considers the distinction of beasts into clean and unclean so manifestly to relate to sacrifice in the time of Noah, and to have originated from divine institution, that he even employs it as an argument in support of the divine appointment of sacrifice before the flood. (*Miscell. Sacr.* lib. ii. diss. ii. § 14.) Heidegger also, though he contends for the use of animal food in the antediluvian world, yet admits the distinction of animals into clean and unclean, to have been instituted by divine authority, in reference to sacrifices before the flood. *Hist. Patr. Exercit.* iii. § 52. tom. i.

NO. LIII.—ON THE DIVINE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE.

PAGE 44, (*t*)—"The first use of words appears from Scripture to have been to com-

municate the thoughts of God. But how could this be done, but in the words of God? and how could man understand the words of God, before he was taught them?" The Apostle has told us that *faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God:* thus clearly pronouncing all knowledge of divine things, and consequently all language relating to them, to have had its origin in revelation. But it is not only with respect to things divine, that revelation appears to have supplied the first intimations of language. In terms relating to mere human concerns, it seems to have been no less the instructress of man. For in what sense can we understand the *naming of every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, brought before Adam for this purpose by God,* but in that of his instructing Adam in the manner, whereby they were in future to be distinguished? To suppose it otherwise, and to imagine that Adam at the first was able to impose names on the several tribes of animals, is to suppose, either that he must from the first have been able to distinguish them by their characteristic marks and leading properties, and to have distinct notions*

* In speaking of the necessity of a distinct notion being associated to each term indicating a class or species, it is not meant to imply, that, to render generic terms significant, appropriate *abstract* notions must be annexed. That such notions cannot be entertained by the mind, or, rather, that they involve a contradiction subversive of their existence, the very arguments and illustrations employed by Mr. Locke in their support and explanation are sufficient to demonstrate. See

of them annexed to their several appellations; or, that he applied sounds at random, as names of

---

particularly *Locke's Essay*, B. iv. ch. vii. § 9. It has been fully and conclusively established by that most accurate of metaphysical reasoners, Berkeley, that what is called a *general* idea, is nothing but the idea of an individual object, annexed to a certain term, which attaches to it a more extensive signification, by recalling to the mind the ideas of other individuals, which are similar to this one in certain characters or properties. This explanation of the nature of *Universals*, which has been commonly ascribed to Bishop Berkeley, who has, undoubtedly, unfolded and enforced it in the most intelligible and convincing manner, is, however, of much earlier origin. The distinction of *Nominalist* and *Realist* is known to have been clearly marked in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, under the teaching of Roscelin, and his pupil Abelard. The Cynics and Stoics, also, of early times, maintained opinions which entitle them to be ranked of the former class: and, contrary to the assertion of Mr. Dugald Stewart, who follows the authority of Brucker in placing Aristotle among the Realists, there certainly are to be found in the writings of that philosopher the elements of those just notions concerning Universals, which have been adopted by the Nominalists.

Of Roscelin, we are told by Brucker, (*Hist. Phil.* vol. iii. p. 907.) that he maintained the position, "Universalia, nec ante rem, nec in re existere, nec ullam habere realem existentiam, sed esse nuda nomina et voces, quibus rerum singularium genera denotentur." This opinion of Roscelin, that *Universals* were merely *words* or *names*, was strenuously supported, with some small alteration not very distinctly intelligible, by his follower Abelard: and was no less strenuously opposed by the Realists, who contended, that Universals have an actual existence *in rerum naturâ*, and that their boundaries are accurately determined by appropriate essences, according to which Nature has classed the individuals of the respective species. That the authority of Aristotle was erroneously claimed by the latter; and that, on the contrary,

the animals, without the intervention of such notions. But the latter is to suppose a jargon,

---

the views of the Stagyrite were favourable to the Nominalists, Dr. Gillies has taken laudable pains to demonstrate. In his valuable Analysis of a part of the writings of that philosopher he has satisfactorily proved, that, by *general terms*, Aristotle meant only to express the result of the comparison of different individuals agreeing in the same εἶδος or appearance, without the supposition of any correspondent *general ideas* existing in the mind; or, in other words, that a general term was conceived by him, to stand as a sign for a number of individuals, considered under the same aspect, and, from certain resemblances, assigned to the same class. See *Dr. Gillies's Aristotle*, vol. i. p. 66—72.

How perfectly this corresponds with the clearest views of modern metaphysics, is manifest at a glance: and it cannot but afford peculiar satisfaction to all who feel a reverence for exalted genius to find, that, after the unworthy disparagement which for a length of time has been so laboriously cast upon the great name of Aristotle, the honourable homage of a rational coincidence in his opinions, not merely on this, but on an almost endless variety of important subjects, has been the result of the most enlightened inquiries of later days. It has been singularly the fate of the Greek philosopher, to be at one time superstitiously venerated, and at another contemptuously ridiculed; without sufficient pains taken, either by his adversaries, or his admirers, to understand his meaning. It has been too frequently his misfortune to be judged from the opinions of his followers, rather than from his own. Even the celebrated Locke is not to be acquitted of this unfair treatment of his illustrious predecessor in the paths of Metaphysics: although, perhaps, it is not too much to say of his well known *Essay*, that there is scarcely to be found in it one valuable and important truth concerning the operations of the understanding, which may not be traced in those writings against which he has directed so much misapplied raillery; whilst, at the same time, they exhibit many rich results of deep thinking, which have entirely escaped his perspicacity.

not a language: and the former implies a miraculous operation on the mind of Adam, which

---

Indeed, it may be generally pronounced of those who have, within the two last centuries, been occupied in the investigation of the intellectual powers of man, that, had they studied Aristotle more, and (what would have followed as a necessary consequence) reviled him less, they would have been more successful in their endeavours to extend the sphere of human knowledge.

To return to the subject of this note,—it must be observed, that to the two different and opposite opinions on the nature of Universals already alluded to, namely, that of the *Nominalists* and that of the *Realists*, there is to be added a third and intermediate one, that of the *Conceptualists*, so called from their distinguishing tenet, that the mind has the power of forming *general conceptions* by abstraction. This sect is represented by Brucker, as a modification of that of the Nominalists. "Nominales, desertâ paulo Abelardi hypothesi, universalia notionibus, atque conceptibus mentis, ex rebus singularibus abstractione formatis, consistere statuebant: unde *Conceptuales* dicti sunt." *Hist. Phil.* vol. iii. p. 908. — With this sect Mr. Locke is ranked by Dr. Reid, (*Essays on the Intell. Powers*, vol. ii. p. 146.) and in the justness of this allotment Mr. Dugald Stewart acquiesces: at the same time he observes, that, from the inaccuracy and inconsistency of Mr. Locke's language, there is no small difficulty in assigning to him his true place; or rather, indeed, in determining whether he had any decided opinion on the question in dispute. (*Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, pp. 191, 192.) It, certainly, cannot be contended that Locke has conveyed his meaning upon this subject with clearness, or consistency; yet no doubt can possibly exist as to the class to which he properly belongs. His placing the essences of the species altogether in the *abstract ideas* formed by the mind indisputably determined him to the standard of the Conceptualist; notwithstanding that the incompatibility of the elements of his abstract idea (*Essay*, B. ii. ch. xi. § 9. and B. iv. ch. vii. § 9.), and the admitted necessity of the *name* to

differs nothing in substance from the divine instruction here contended for.

---

bestow upon the idea its *unity*, that is, in other words, its *existence* as an idea (*Essay*, B. iii. ch. v. § 10.), marked the indistinctness of his views upon this subject; and ought, if he had examined his own notions consequentially, to have led him to adopt the party of the *Nominalist*.

From what has been said it appears, upon the whole, that the *Nominalist* and *Conceptualist*, whilst they concur in rejecting the notion of the *Realist*, "that Universals belong to things, and that general terms denote certain genera and species established in nature by appropriate essences," — at the same time differ from each other, essentially, in this; — that whilst the one attributes universality solely to *terms*, and the other to certain *abstract ideas* expressed by those terms, the latter admits the possibility of reasoning on general subjects *without the mediation of language*, and the former maintains the indispensable *necessity of language, as the instrument of thought in all general speculations*.

If, with Bishop Berkeley, we are obliged to deny the possible existence of an *abstract idea*, there can be no difficulty in determining to which of these two opinions we must yield our assent. In the sign alone, and in its potential application to a class of individual objects, is universality to be found; and consequently by language only, (meaning by this, the use of signs at large,) can we conduct our reasonings one single step beyond the individual object. There is, upon this subject, an excellent remark made by an elegant and perspicuous writer, which I cannot forbear transcribing: — "Whether it might not have been possible for the Deity to have so formed us, that we might have been capable of reasoning concerning classes of objects, without the use of signs, I shall not take upon me to determine. But this we may venture to affirm with confidence, that man is not such a being." —— "It would be vain for us, in inquiries of this nature, to indulge ourselves in speculating about possibilities. It is of more consequence to remark the advantages which we derive from our actual constitution; and which, in the present instance, appear to me

Indeed, even abstracting from the information thus given in Scripture, those who have well examined this subject have been utterly at a loss to conceive any other origin of language, than divine institution. Whitby considers this so completely evident, that he thinks it forms in itself a clear demonstration, that the original of mankind was as Moses delivered it, from the impossibility of giving any other tolerable account of the origin of language. (*Sermons on the Attrib.* vol. ii. p. 29.) Bishop Williams, in his 2d Sermon (*Boyle Lect.* vol. i. p. 167.), affirms, that though Adam had a capacity and organs admirably contrived for speech, yet in his case there was a necessity of his being immediately instructed by God, because it was impossible he should have invented speech, and words to be spoken, so soon as his necessities required. Dr. Beattie endeavours to prove the human invention of language to be *impossible*. (*Theory of Lang.*, 8vo. p. 101.) And Dr. Johnson is so decidedly of this opinion, that he holds *inspiration* to be necessary to inform man that he has the faculty of speech, "which I think," says he, "he could

---

to be important and admirable: inasmuch as it fits mankind for an easy interchange of their intellectual acquisitions; by imposing on them the necessity of employing, in their solitary speculations, the same instrument of thought, which forms the established medium of their communications with each other." — See p. 190. of *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, by Dugald Stewart.*

no more find out without inspiration, than cows or hogs would think of such a faculty." Mr. Wollaston contends, (*Relig. of Nat.* pp. 122, 123.) that language is the indispensable instrument* of thought: and even Herder, who has

* In the preceding note, the necessity of language, as the instrument of thought and reasoning, was particularly adverted to. In the judgment of many profound thinkers that necessity is recognised. Lavoisier, in the preface to his *Elements of Chemistry*, expresses his coincidence in the maxim of Condillac, that "we think only through the medium of words;" and that "the art of reasoning is nothing more than a language well arranged." (*Kerr's Translation*, p. xiv.) Plato describes thinking as conducted by mental speech, τὸ διανοεῖσθαι λόγον, ὃν αὐτὴ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἡ ψυχὴ διεξέρχεται: and in the philosophy of the Greeks, *reason* and *words* are denominated by one and the same term, λόγος.—Now, if this be just; if language be, in truth, the indispensable instrument of reasoning; is it too much to affirm, that language could not have been discovered *by* reasoning; or, in other words, that the operations of reasoning could not have effected that, by which alone its operations are conducted?

According to the Conceptualist, indeed, who holds that the mind can contemplate its own ideas independently of words, the invention of language by the exertion of thought is by no means inconceivable; since, on this hypothesis, reasoning may precede language, and therefore may minister to its discovery. And yet, when considered somewhat closely, it may not perhaps appear a very easy matter to imagine the practicability of such a process.

Reasoning, it is manifest, can be conducted only by propositions or affirmations, either verbal or mental. A proposition, affirming of any individual thing, that it is itself, or that it is not another, (could we even suppose the mind in its first stage of thinking capable of forming such a proposition,) is not to be ranked amongst the class of affirmations which belong to reasoning. The power of distinguishing individual objects pertains to the faculty of perception, and is necessary

laboured to prove language not to have been of divine appointment, admits that without it reason cannot be used by man.

---

to reasoning, but can form no part of it. Nothing individual, then, being an attribute, every affirmation, which can make a part of reasoning, demands the existence of a general sign. The formation of general signs must, therefore, precede all affirmation, and consequently every exercise of the reasoning faculty. The Conceptualist, who asserts, that general signs are supplied by the general ideas with which abstraction furnishes the mind, must of course contend, that the exercise of the power of abstraction must be antecedent to every act of reasoning. Now, in the first place, it cannot but be deemed extraordinary, that the very faculty, which is pronounced to be the distinguishing characteristic of the rational species, should be called into action previous to the exercise of reason. If such a faculty can be exerted *before* the use of reason, why not exerted *without* it? And, in that case, why should not the tribes of irrational animals, whose perceptions of individual objects may be as distinct as those in the minds of men, pass from those individual perceptions to universal ideas, if such transition can be made without the exercise of reason? But again, not to dwell upon this consideration, (since it may be pretended that it is abstraction itself which in its consequence produces rationality,) if we inquire, what it is that can put an unreasoning mind upon this process of abstraction; a process allowed by all to be difficult, and represented by some in such a light as makes it appear to embrace contradictions; it will not be very easy to give an answer. In contemplating things by classes, it is true, we both expedite the acquisition of knowledge, and facilitate its communication. But can these ends act upon a mind which has not yet *begun* to reason? Can the anticipations of knowledge become a motive, where it has not yet been learned what knowledge is; or, can the desire of communication constitute an incitement, where the very notion of the subject matter to be communicated has never yet been conceived? For it must be remembered, that, as we are now speaking of

Now, if language be necessary to the exercise of reason, it clearly cannot have been the result

---

language as *subsequent* to reasoning, and of reasoning as *subsequent* to abstraction, we must conceive abstraction to be exerted, without any notion actually acquired either of reasoning or language, or any direction or forecast suggested by a reference to either. Abstraction, in short, in this view of the case, is a random and unintelligible movement, which is excited by no design, proposes no object, and admits no regulation. So irrational a foundation for a rational superstructure, cannot be deliberately maintained.

Dr. Price, whose system imposed on him the necessity of upholding the existence of *abstract ideas,* as "essential to all the operations of the understanding, and as being implied in every act of our judgment," felt himself, at the same time, obliged, from the foregoing considerations, to deny that such ideas can be acquired by any mental process, such as that of abstraction. "Were abstract ideas," he observes, "formed by the mind in any such manner, it seems unavoidable to conceive, that it *has* them, at the very time that it is supposed to be employed in *forming* them. Thus, from any *particular* idea of a triangle, it is said we can form the *general* one: but does not the very reflection said to be necessary to this, on a greater or lesser triangle, imply, that the general idea is *already* in the mind?" (*Review of the principal Difficulties in Morals*, p. 37.) The learned Cudworth, in like manner, speaking of the understanding, as an artificer that is to fabricate abstract notions out of sensible ideas, demands, whether, "when this artificer goes about his work, he knows what he is to make of them beforehand, and unto what shape to bring them. If he do not, he must needs be a bungling workman: but if he do, he is *prevented* in his designs, his work being already done to his hand: for he must needs have the *intelligible idea* of that which he knows or understands, already within himself." (*Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality*, pp. 220, 221.) Mr. Harris, also, is led, as he says, by the common account of the mode in which our ideas are generated in the mind, "to view the human

of human excogitation: or, as it is put by Dr. Ellis in his *Enquiry*, &c. language cannot be contrived

---

soul in the light of a crucible, where truths are produced by a kind of logical chemistry." *Hermes*, pp. 404, 405. These writers are accordingly forced into the gratuitous supposition of a distinct faculty, for the origin of abstract ideas in the human mind. This Dr. Price pronounces to be "the faculty, whose natural object is truth." (*Rev.* p. 37.) And Cudworth, from whom he has largely drawn, and whose mysterious solution of this difficulty he does not altogether reject, ascribes the origin of our abstract ideas to a certain "perceptive power of the *Noetical* part of the soul, which, acting by itself, exerts from within the intelligible ideas of things virtually contained in its own *cognoscitive* power, that are universal and abstract notions, from which, as it were, *looking downwards*, it comprehends individual things." *Treatise*, pp. 217, 218. Mr. Harris, again, accounts for the existence of abstract ideas, by a "*connective* act of the soul, by means of which, by an energy as spontaneous and familiar to its nature as the seeing of colours is to the eye, it discerns at once, what in *many* is *one*; what, in things *dissimilar* and *different*, is *similar*, and the *same*:" and this "*connecting* or *unifying* power" of the mind, he makes to be the same with that which discerns *truth*: and by means of this alone it is, that he considers, that individuals themselves can become the objects of knowledge; in which he seems to coincide with the mystical notions of Cudworth. See *Hermes*, p. 360—372.

Into such extraordinary straits, and unjustifiable assumptions, have these learned and able writers been drawn, whilst they maintained the existence of universal ideas, and at the same time found it impossible to accede to the notion of their production by the process of abstraction. They would have reasoned more justly, if, from the impossibility of acquiring universal ideas by such a process, they had inferred that no such ideas do actually exist in the mind; and that the general abstract notion, which is at the same time to include *all* and *none* of the circumstances of individual existence, is a fiction which never can be realized. They would have arrived at a

without thought and knowledge; but the mind cannot have thought and knowledge, till it has language; therefore language must be previously taught, before man could become a rational creature; and none could teach him but God. (*Scholar Armed*, vol. i. p. 140.) Locke's principles concerning the nature of language, although he did not see his way with sufficient clearness to lead him to the right conclusion, is shown by the last-named writer to be perfectly correspondent with the above reasoning. (*Ibid.* pp. 138, 139.) And in an able work published at Berlin by *Süsmilchius* in 1766, the same principles are successfully applied to establish the same conclusion; namely, that the origin of language must have been divine. Even Hobbes admits, that "the first *author of speech* was God himself, that instructed Adam how to name such creatures as he presented to his sight." (*Leviath.* ch. iv. p. 12.)

From the impossibility of conceiving how language could have been invented, some have been

---

conclusion still more comprehensive and important, if they had drawn this farther consequence; that there is not in *nature* any *Universal* really existing; and that since no idea can be other than the *idea* of an *individual*, to *terms* alone can a *universal* or *general* nature be ascribed. — From all which is must follow as a necessary result, — that without language neither can knowledge be acquired, nor reasoning exerted, by the human intellect; and that, since language must precede these, it cannot have been discovered by them, and therefore cannot be deemed the offspring of human invention.

led, in opposition to all just reasoning, to pronounce it innate.* Many even of the ancients, totally unaided by revelation, were obliged to confess that the discovery of this art exceeded all human powers. Thus Socrates, in the Cratylus of Plato, is represented as saying, "the first names were framed by the gods:", and in the same work we are told, that "the imposition of names on things belonged to a nature superior to that of man," and that it could "pertain only to him who hath a full discernment of their several natures."—*Pol. Syn.* on Gen. ii. 19.—*Stilling. Orig. Sac.* B. i. ch. i. § 3.—and *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* lib. xi. cap. 6.

It must be remarked, that they who hold the opinion that language is of mere human invention are, for the most part, obliged to proceed on suppositions of the original state of man, totally inconsistent with the Mosaic history. Thus, amongst the ancients, Diodorus Siculus (*Biblioth.* lib. i.), Vitruvius (*De Archit.* lib. ii. cap. 1, 2.), Lucretius, &c. ground their reasonings upon an idea, (derived from the atomic cosmogony of Moschus, Democritus, and Epicurus, which represented human beings as springing from the earth, like vegetables,) that men first

* See *Shuckf. Connect.* vol. i. p. 109., and also an essay of *Count de Fraula* (*Mém. de l'Acad. Imper. et Roy.* Brussels, vol. xiv.), in which language is represented as an instinctive quality of man, constituting a part of his very creation.

lived in woods and caves like brute beasts, uttering only cries and indistinct noises, until *gradual* association for mutual defence brought with it *at length* conventional signs for communication. And the respectable and learned, though strangely fanciful, author of the *Origin and Progress of Language*, who is among the latest that have written in defence of this opinion, is compelled to admit that the invention of language is too difficult for the savage state of man; and accordingly he holds, that men, having been placed originally in a solitary and savage state, must have been associated for ages, and have carried on some common work, and even framed some civil polity, and must have continued for a considerable length of time in that state, so as ultimately to acquire such powers of abstraction as to be able to form general ideas, before language could possibly be formed. Now whether such theories, in supposing a mute emergence from savage barbarism to reflecting civilization, and a continued association * without an associating tie,

* Dr. Blair, in his *Lectures on Rhetoric* (vol. i. p. 71.), makes the following just and apposite observations:—"One would think, that, in order to any language fixing and extending itself, men must have been previously gathered together in considerable numbers; society must have been already far advanced: and yet, on the other hand, there seems to have been an *absolute necessity for speech, previous to the formation of society.* For, by what bond could any multitude of men be kept together, or be made to join in the prosecution of any common interest, until once, by the intervention of speech, they could communicate their wants and intentions

prove any thing else than their own extravagance; and whether, by the prodigious difficulty and delay which even they attach to the invention of speech, they do not give strong confirmation to the Mosaic account, which describes man as destined for the *immediate* enjoyment of society, and consequently *instructed* in the art of speech, it is for the reader to judge.

Other writers again, for example, Condillac (in his *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge*), Batteaux (in his *Principles of Literature*), and Gebelin (in his *Monde Primitif*), maintain, that man is not by nature the *mutum pecus* he is represented by the Scotch philosopher: but that sounds, either excited by passions, or produced by imitation, would *necessarily* be formed so as to constitute an *inarticulate* language; which would ultimately suggest the idea, and supply the elements, of more perfect speech. The transition, however, from the simple sound to the diversified articulation is still a wide chasm in each of these solutions. And whilst the range of the passions seems, on the one hand, to present a limit which the powers of communication, de-

---

to each other? So that, either how society could form itself, previously to language, or how words could rise into a language, previously to society formed, seem to be points attended with equal difficulty. And when we consider, &c. difficulties increase so much upon us on all hands, that there seems to be no small reason for referring the first origin of all language to divine teaching or inspiration."

rived from that source, cannot be conceived to transcend; the various sounds and motions in nature must, on the other, be admitted to exhaust the models, which alone could draw forth the imitative powers of the human voice. So that, according to these theories, single tones, or cries, either excited by some passion, or formed in imitation of some natural sound, must in all just reasoning fill up the measure of human language. It is not easy, then, to discover any advantage possessed by these theories over that of Lord Monboddo, and the ancient Epicurean Philosophers. The latter but represent the human kind originally placed in the condition of brutes; the former seem careful to provide that it should never rise above that condition.

As it may be matter of curiosity to know in what manner these writers endeavour to explain the transition from mere vocal sounds to articulate speech, it may be proper to subjoin here a specimen taken from one of them, by no means the least distinguished in the literary world, the Abbé De Condillac. He admits the operation to be extremely tedious; for that "the organ of speech (in grown persons), for want of early use, would be so inflexible that it could not articulate any other than a few simple sounds: *and the obstacles which prevented them from pronouncing others, would prevent them from suspecting that the voice was susceptible of any further variation.*" Now it may be fairly asked, would not these

obstacles for ever prevent any articulations, or even sounds, beyond those which the passions might excite, or other sounds suggest? How is this difficulty, which has been fairly admitted by the author, to be removed? He shall answer for himself. The child, from the pliancy of its vocal organs, being freed from the obstructions which incapacitated the parent, will accidentally fall upon new articulations in the endeavour to communicate its desire for a particular object; the parent will endeavour to imitate this sound, and affix it as a name to the object, for the purpose of communicating with the child: and thus, by repeated enlargements of articulation in successive generations, language would at length be produced.*

* It should be remarked, that, were even all that is here contended for admitted to be practicable, language in the true sense of the word is not yet attained. The power of designating an individual object by an appropriate articulation, is a necessary step in the formation of language, but very far removed, indeed, from its consummation. Without the use of general signs, the speech of man would differ little from that of brutes; and the transition to the general term from the name of the individual is a difficulty which remains still to be surmounted. Condillac, indeed, proposes to show how this transition may be made, in the natural course of things, "Un enfant appelle du nom *d'Arbre* le premier arbre que nous lui montrons. Un second arbre qu'il voit ensuite lui rappelle la même idée; il lui donne le même nom; de même à un troisième, à un quatrième, et voilà la mot *d'Arbre* donné d'abord à un individu, qui devient pour lui un nom de classe ou de genre, une idée abstraite qui comprend tous les arbres en général." In like manner Adam Smith, in his *Dissertation on the Origin of Languages*, and Mr. Dugald

Such is the solution of the origin of language which human philosophy presents; sending us to

---

Stewart, in his *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, endeavour to explain this process; representing those words which were originally used as the proper names of individuals, to be successively transferred to other individuals, until, at length, each of them became insensibly the common name of a multitude. This, however, is more ingenious than solid. The name given to an individual being intended exclusively to designate that individual, it is a direct subversion of its very nature and design to apply it to any other individual, known to be different from the former. The child, it is true, may give the name of *father* to an individual like to the person it has been taught to call by that name: but this is from mistake, not from design; from a confusion of the two as the same person, and not from a perception of resemblance between them whilst known to be different. In truth, they whose thoughts are occupied solely about individual objects, must be the more careful to distinguish them from each other; and, accordingly, the child will most peremptorily retract the appellation of *father*, so soon as the distinctness is observed. The object with those, whose terms or signs refer only to individuals, must naturally be to take care that every such term or sign shall be applied to its appropriate individual, and to none else. Resemblance can produce no other effect than to enforce a greater caution in the application of the individual names, and therefore has no natural tendency to lead the mind to the use of general terms. It may be thought, indeed, that the idea of *number*, attaching to individuals of a similar appearance, might naturally lead to some general designation, whereby the aggregate of those individuals might be marked out. But it should be recollected, that the very notion of number, which seems one of the commonest and most familiar to the mind, does itself presuppose a class; since objects cannot be enumerated, unless previously referred to some one genus or class, or, which is the same thing, unless they are previously expressed by some common sign. Since, then, mere *resemblance* will not lead to the use of general terms; and since the notion

the accidental babble of *infancy* for the origination of that, which, it confesses, must exceed the power of the imagination to invent, and of the organs of the man to accomplish: inverting the order of nature, by supposing the adult to learn the art of speech by imitation of the nursling; and, in addition to all, building upon the gratuitous assumption, that the child could utter articulations undirected by any pre-existing model. —On such reasoning it cannot be necessary to enlarge.

Besides, to all those theories which maintain the human invention of language the test of experience may fairly be applied. We may safely challenge their authors to produce in their support a single *fact;* a single instance, in the whole range of history, of any human creature ever using articulate sounds as the signs of ideas, unless *taught,* either immediately and at once by God, or gradually by those who had been themselves instructed. That there have been instances of persons, who, possessing all the natural powers of mind and body, yet remained destitute of speech from the want of an instructer, there can be no question. Diodorus Siculus (lib. iii. § 19. p. 187. tom. 1. *Wessel.*) informs us of an entire nation wanting the use of speech, and communicating only by signs and gestures. But, not to

---

of *number* actually presupposes the existence of general terms; it follows, that the transition from proper names to general terms cannot be accounted for in the way in which these writers have endeavoured to explain it.

urge so extraordinary a fact, Lord Monboddo himself, in his first volume, furnishes several well attested instances; and relates particularly the case of a savage, who was caught in the woods of Hanover, and who, though by no means deficient either in his mental powers or bodily organs, was yet utterly incapable of speech. Had man then been left solely to the operation of his own natural powers, it is incumbent upon these writers to show, that his condition would have differed as to speech from that of the Hanoverian savage.

As for those writers who admit the Mosaic account, and yet attribute to Adam the formation of language unassisted by divine instruction, they seem to entertain a notion more incomprehensible than the former; inasmuch as the first exercise of language by the father of mankind is stated to have preceded the production of Eve, and cannot, consistently with the Scripture account, be supposed to have been long subsequent to his own creation. So that, according to these theorists, he must have devised a medium of communication, before any human being existed with whom to communicate: he must have been able to apply an organ unexercised, and inflexible, to the arduous and delicate work of articulation; and he must at once have attained the use of words, without those multiplied preparatory experiments and concurring aids, which

seem on all hands admitted to be indispensable to the discovery and production of speech.

To remedy some of these difficulties, it has been said, that the faculty of speech was made as natural to man as his reason, and that the use of language was the necessary result of his constitution. If by this were meant, that man spoke as necessarily as he breathed, the notion of an innate language must be allowed; and then the experiment of the Egyptian king to discover the primitive language of man must be confessed to have had its foundation in nature: but if it be merely meant, that man was by nature invested with the powers of speech, and by his condition, his relations, and his wants, impelled to the exercise of these powers, the difficulty returns, and all the obstacles already enumerated oppose themselves to the discovery of those powers, and to the means by which he was enabled to bring them into actual exertion. It may perhaps add strength to the observations already made upon this subject, to remark, that the author, who has maintained this last-mentioned theory, and whose work, as containing the ablest and most laborious examination of the question, has been crowned with a prize by the Academy of Berlin, and has been honoured with the general applause of the continental literati, has utterly failed, and is admitted to have failed, in that which is the grand difficulty of the question. For, whilst he enlarges

on the intelligent and social qualities of man, all fitting him for the use of language, he is obliged to leave totally unexplained the transition from that state which thus prepares man for language, to the actual exercise of the organs of speech. (See the account given of the Essay of Herder on the origin of language, in *Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Acad. Roy.* &c. *de Berlin*, 1771—and again an Analysis of that work by M. Merian, in the vol. of the same *Mémoires* for the year 1781.) Enough, perhaps more than enough, has been said in answer to those theories and objections, which have been raised in opposition to that which Scripture* so obviously and unequivo-

* In addition to the proof which has been already derived from this source, it should be remembered, that the laws given by God to the first pair respecting food for their preservation (Gen. i. 29. ii. 9.), and marriage for the propagation of their species (Gen. ii. 22, 23.), together with the other discoveries of his will recorded in the beginning of Genesis (i. 28. ii. 16—19. iii. 8—12. 14—22.), were communicated through the medium of language; and that the man and the woman are there expressly stated to have conversed with God, and with each other. Besides, in what sense could it be said that a meet companion for the man was formed, if there were not given to both the power of communicating their thoughts by appropriate speech? If God pronounced it *not good for man to be alone;* if, with multitudes of creatures surrounding him, he was still deemed to be *alone*, because there was none of these with which he could commune in rational correspondence; if a companion was assigned to him whose society was to rescue him from this solitude; what can be inferred, but that the indispensable requisite for such society, the powers and exercise of speech, must have been at the same time vouchsafed?

cally asserts,—namely, the *divine institution of language.*

It is not necessary to the purpose of this Number, nor does Scripture require us, to suppose with Stillingfleet (*Orig. Sac.* B. i. cap. i. § 3.), and with Bochart (*Hieroz.* P. i. L. i. cap. 9.), that Adam was endued with a full and perfect knowledge of the several creatures, so as to impose names truly expressive of their natures. It is sufficient, if we suppose the *use of language* taught him with respect to such things as were necessary, and that he was then left to the exercise of his own faculties for farther improvement upon this foundation. But that the terms of worship and adoration were among those which were first communicated, we can entertain little doubt. On the subject discussed in this Number,

---

It should be recollected, too, that this is not the only instance recorded in Scripture of the instantaneous communication of language. The diversity of tongues occasioning the confusion of Babel, and the miraculous gift of speech to the apostles on the day of Pentecost, may render a similar exercise of divine power in the case of our first parents more readily admissible: for it surely will not be contended, that such supernatural interference was less called for from the nature of the occasion, in the last-named instance, than in either of the two former.

The writer of Ecclesiasticus pronounces decisively on the subject of this Number. When *the Lord created man,* he affirms that, having bestowed upon him *the five operations of the Lord, in the sixth place he imparted to him understanding: and in the seventh, speech, an interpretation of the cogitations thereof.* —Eccles. xvii. 5.

the reader may consult *Morinus, Exercit. de Ling.* cap. vi. *Buxtorfii Dissertat.* p. 1—20. *Walton. Prol.* 1. § 4. *Warburt. Div. Leg.* B. iv. S. iv. vol. ii. pp. 81, 82. *Delan. Rev. Exam.* Diss. 4. *Winder's Hist. of Knowledge*, chap. i. § 2. *Barrington's Misc. Sacr.* vol. iii. pp. 8. 45. *Dr. Beattie*, and *Wollaston*, as referred to: and, above all, *Dr. Ellis's Enquiry whence cometh Wisdom, &c.* which, together with his work, entitled *Knowledge of divine Things from Revelation*, is too little known, and cannot be too strongly recommended. The former of these tracts of Dr. Ellis I have never met with, but as bound up in the collection of Tracts, entitled THE SCHOLAR ARMED.

NO. LIV.—ON THE NATURAL UNREASONABLENESS OF THE SACRIFICIAL RITE.

PAGE 44. (ε)—Outram states (*De Sac.* lib. ii. cap. i. § 3.), that the force of this consideration was in itself so great, as to compel Grotius, who defended the notion of the human institution of sacrifices, to maintain, in defiance of all just criticism, that Abel did not slay the firstlings of his flock; and that no more is meant, than that he brought the *choicest produce* of his flock, milk and wool, and offered them, as Cain offered the choicest of his fruits.

Indeed the *natural* unfitness of the sacrificial

rite to obtain the divine favour, the total incongruity between the killing of God's creatures, and the receiving a pardon for the violation of God's law, are topics which have afforded the opponents of the divine institution of sacrifice too much occasion for triumph, to be controverted on their side of the question. See *Philemon to Hydaspes*, part 5. p. 10—15. The words of Spencer on this subject are too remarkable to be omitted: "Sacrificiorum materia (pecudum caro, sanguis effusus, &c.) tam vilis est, et a summâ Dei majestate tam longe dissita, quod nemo (nisi plane simplex et rerum rudis) quin sacrificia plane superflua, Deoque prorsus indigna facile judicaret. Sane tantum aberat, ut ethnici paulo humaniores sacrificia deorum suorum naturæ consentanea crederent, quod iis non raro mirari subiit, UNDE RITUS TAM TRISTIS, ET A NATURA DEORUM ALIENUS, IN HOMINUM CORDA VENIRET, SE TAM LONGE PROPAGARET, ET EORUM MORIBUS TAM TENACITER ADHÆRERET." *De Leg. Heb.* lib. iii. diss. ii. cap. 4. sect. 2. p. 772.—Revelation would have removed the wonder.

LV.—ON THE UNIVERSALITY OF SACRIFICE.

PAGE 45.(h)—What Dr. Kennicott has remarked upon another subject, may well be applied to this. "Whatever custom has prevailed over the world, among nations the most opposite in polity and

customs in general: nations not united by commerce or communication, (when that custom has nothing in nature, or the reason of things, to give it birth, and to establish to itself such a currency,) must be derived from some revelation: which revelation may in certain places have been forgotten, though the custom introduced by and founded on such revelation still continued. And farther, this revelation must have been made antecedent to the dispersion of Babel, when all mankind, being but one nation, and living together in the form of one large family, were of one language, and governed by the same laws and customs." (*Two Dissert.* p. 161.) For, as Sir Isaac Newton observes, all mankind lived together in Chaldæa under the government of Noah and his sons, until the days of Peleg. So long they were of one language, one society, and one religion. And then they divided the earth, being forced to leave off building the tower of Babel. And from thence they spread themselves into the several countries which fell to their shares, carrying along with them the laws, customs, and religion, under which they had till those days been educated and governed. (*Chronol.* p. 186.)

And again, as Kennicott observes from Delaney, whatever practice has obtained universally in the world, must have obtained from some dictate of *reason*, or some demand of *nature*, or some principle of *interest*, or else from some powerful influence or injunction of some Being of *uni-*

versal authority. Now, the practice of animal sacrifice did not obtain from *reason;* for no reasonable notions of God could teach men, that he could delight in blood, or in the fat of slain beasts. Nor will any man say, that we have any natural *instinct* to gratify, in spilling the blood of an innocent creature. Nor could there be any temptation from appetite to do this in those ages, when the whole sacrifice was consumed by fire; or when, if it was not, yet men wholly abstained from flesh: and, consequently, this practice did not owe its origin to any principle of *interest.* Nay, so far from any thing of this, that the destruction of innocent and useful creatures is evidently *against nature, against reason,* and *against interest;* and therefore must be founded in an *authority,* whose influence was as powerful, as the practice was universal: and that could be none but the authority of God, the sovereign of the world; or of Adam, the founder of the human race. If it be said of Adam, the question still remains, what motive determined *him* to the practice? It could not be nature, reason, or interest, as has been already shown; it must, therefore, have been the authority of his Sovereign: and had Adam enjoined it to his posterity, it is not to be imagined, that they would have obeyed him in so extraordinary and expensive a rite, from any other motive than the command of God. If it be urged, that superstitions prevail unaccountably in the world; it may be answered, that all

superstition has its origin in true religion: all superstition is an abuse: and all abuse supposes a right and proper use. And if this be the case in superstitious practices that are of lesser moment and extent, what shall be said of a practice existing through all ages, and pervading every nation? See *Kennic. Two Diss.* pp. 210, 211., and *Rev. Exam.* Diss. viii. p. 85—89.

It is to no purpose, that theorists endeavour to explain the practice as of gradual growth; the first offerings being merely of fruits, and a transition afterwards made from this to animal sacrifice. Not to urge the sacrifice of Abel, and all the early sacrifices recorded in Scripture, the transition is itself inconceivable. The two things are *toto cælo* different: the one being an act of innocence; the other a cruel and unnatural rite. Dr. Richie's remarks on the subject of this Number are particularly worthy of attention. *Essay on the Rectitude of Divine Moral Government under the Patriarchal Dispensation*, § 53, 54.

NO. LVI.—ON THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE NOTION OF THE EXPIATORY VIRTUE OF SACRIFICE.

PAGE 45. (1)—It is notorious, as we have already seen in Numbers V. and XXXIII., that all nations, Jews and Heathens, before the time of Christ, entertained the notion, that the dis-

pleasure of the offended Deity was to be averted by the sacrifice of an animal; and that, to the shedding of its blood, they imputed their pardon* and reconciliation. In the explication of so strange a notion, and of the universality of its extent, unassisted reason must confess itself totally confounded. And, accordingly, we find Pythagoras, Plato, Porphyry, and other reflecting heathens, express their wonder, *how*† an institution so dismal, and big with absurdity, could have spread through the world.

So powerful is the inference, which this fact consequently supplies, against the human invention of sacrifice, that Dr. Priestley, labouring to support that doctrine, and, at the same time, pressed by the force of the argument, has been obliged boldly to face about, and resolutely deny the fact; contending, in defiance, as we have already shown, of all historical evidence, that the notion of expiating guilt by the death of the victim, was not the design of sacrifice, either among the nations of antiquity, or among such as have practised sacrifice in later times. This idea Dr. Priestley considers too absurd for heathens. Christians alone, excepting that description who have proved themselves on this head as enlightened as heathens, could have swallowed such

* See on this also *Stanhope*, Serm. xiii. *Boyle Lect.* vol. i. pp. 790. 794.

† See *Kennic. Two Dissert.* p. 202., and Number LIV. of this work.

monstrous absurdities. If, however, the *fact* appears to be against Dr. Priestley, what follows from his reasoning? A *cruel, expensive,* and *unnatural* practice has been adopted, and uniformly pursued, by the unaided reason of mankind for above 4000 years. It remains then for him, and the other advocates for the strength and sufficiency of human reason, to consider, whether it be that sort of guide, on which implicit reliance is to be placed; and whether it be wise to entrust to its *sole* direction our everlasting concerns.

NO. LVII.—ON THE OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE SUPPOSITION OF THE DIVINE INSTITUTION OF SACRIFICE.

PAGE 47. (1)—The principal objections to this opinion are derived from the two following considerations: 1. The silence of the sacred historian on this head; which, in a matter of so great importance, it is said, is irreconcileable with the supposition of a divine command: 2. Those passages in the Old Testament, in which God seems openly to disown the institution of sacrifice.

I. The former is thus urged by Bishop Warburton. "The two capital observances, in the Jewish ritual, were the SABBATH, and SACRIFICES. To impress the highest reverence and veneration on the *sabbath,* the sacred historian is careful to record its divine original: and can we suppose

that, had sacrifices had the same original, he would have neglected to establish this truth, at the time that he recorded the other, since it is of equal use, and of equal importance; I should have said, indeed, of much greater?" (*Div. Leg.* B. ix. ch. ii. vol. 4. pp. 661, 662. ed. Hurd.)

To this it may be answered, that though the distinction of weeks was well known over all the eastern world, it is highly probable, that the Hebrews, during their residence in Egypt, were negligent in their observance of the sabbath; and that, to enforce a religious observance of it, it had become necessary to give them particular information of the time and occasion of its first institution; but that, in a country like Egypt, the people being in little danger of losing their veneration for *sacrifices*, the same necessity for directing their attention explicitly to *their* institution did not exist. The observation of Dr. Delaney also deserves to be noticed; namely, that as the rite of sacrifice was loaded with many additional ceremonies, at its second institution, under Moses; in order to guard the Jews from the infections of the heathen, it might have been wisely designed by their lawgiver not to recall their attention to its original simplicity, lest they should be tempted to murmur and rebel against their own multifarious ritual. *Rev. Exam.* Diss. viii. vol. i. p. 94.

But, perhaps, an answer yet more satisfactory may be derived from considering the manner in

which the history of the first ages of the world has been sketched by the sacred penman. The rapid view he takes of the antediluvian world, (having devoted but a few chapters to the important and interesting concerns of the creation, the fall, and the transactions of all those years that preceded the flood,) necessarily precluded a circumstantial detail. Accordingly, we find several matters of no small moment connected with that early period, and also with the ages immediately succeeding, entirely omitted, which are related by other sacred writers. Thus Peter and Jude inform us of the angels that fell from their first estate, and are reserved in everlasting chains; of a prophecy delivered by Enoch to those of his days; of the preaching of righteousness by Noah; and of the vexation which the righteous soul of Lot daily experienced, from the unlawful deeds of those with whom he lived. (*2 Pet.* ii. 4, 5. 7, 8., and *Jude* 6. 14, 15.) None of these things are mentioned by Moses: and even such matters as he has deemed of sufficient consequence to notice, he introduces only as they may be connected with the direct historic line which he holds in view; and, whilst hastening on to those nearer events on which it was necessary for him to enlarge, he touches on other affairs, however important, but as they incidentally arise. In this way, the first mention of sacrifice is evidently introduced; not for the purpose of giving a formal history of the rite, of explaining *how* or

when it was instituted, in which case a formal account of its origin might have been expected; but merely as an occasional relation, in the history of the transfer of the seniority, or right of primogeniture, and so the parentage of the Messiah, from Cain into a younger line, which, according to Kennicott, was a thing absolutely necessary to be known; and also, probably, of the ruinous effects of the fall, in the effervescence of that wicked and malicious spirit, which made its first baleful display in the murder of Abel. The silence, then, of the historian, as to the divine institution of sacrifice, furnishes no argument against it. See *Kenn. Two Diss.* p. 211. *Wits. Misc. Sac.* Lib. ii. Diss. ii. § 2.; also *Richie's Pecul. Doct.* vol. i. p. 136.

But then, according to the Bishop's reasoning, the relation given by Moses of the institution of the *sabbath* justifies the expectation, that, had *sacrifice* arisen from the divine command, *its* origin would likewise have been recorded. But in what way is the divine appointment of the sabbath recorded? Is it any where asserted by Moses, that God had ordered Adam and his posterity to dedicate every seventh day to holy uses, and to the worship of his name; or that they ever did so, in observance of any such command? No such thing. It is merely said, that, having rested from the work of creation, *God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it.* Now, so far is this passage from being uni-

versally admitted to imply a command for the sacred observance of the sabbath, that some have altogether denied the sabbath to have been instituted by divine appointment: and the fathers in general, and especially Justin Martyr, have been considered as totally rejecting the notion of a patriarchal sabbath. But although, especially after the very able and learned investigation of this subject by Dr. Kennicott in the second of his *Two Dissertations*, no doubt can reasonably be entertained of the import of this passage, as relating the divine institution of the sabbath, yet still the rapidity of the historian has left this rather as matter of inference: and it is certain, that he has nowhere made *express* mention of the observance of a sabbath until the time of Moses.

Indeed it may be a question, whether, considering accurately the passage which describes the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, and the circumstances attending them, it does not in itself furnish sufficiently strong ground to infer the divine appointment of sacrifice. The familiar manner in which the mention of this sacrifice is introduced, joined to the peculiar force of the words מִקֵּץ יָמִים, (which, as Kennicott, supported by Fagius, shows, ought not to be translated, generally, *in process of time*, but *at the close of the appointed season*,) seems to indicate a *prior* and *stated* observance of this rite; and the manifest acceptance of Abel's sacrifice by God evinces an

approbation of that pre-existing practice, which can leave little doubt respecting the source of its institution. And this advantage the case of sacrifice clearly possesses over that of the sabbath; namely, that in the patriarchal history we have repeated and explicit accounts of the continuance of the former, whilst the notices of the sabbatical observance, antecedently to the Mosaic dispensation, are obscure and infrequent. Now, were we to argue rigidly against the *continued* observance of the sabbath, from its not having been expressly recorded, we might contend, as has been already hinted, for the necessity of a more explicit statement of its divine origin in the time of Moses; whilst the unbroken tradition and uninterrupted practice of sacrifice, (a thing controverted by none that I know of, except Lord Barrington in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, vol. iii. Diss. ii. cor. 3. and by him upon grounds rather fanciful and refined,) might render it less necessary for Moses to be particular on this head.

But, in truth, the silence of the historian respecting either the sabbatical or sacrificial observance is but of little weight, when there are circumstances in the history, from which the practice may be collected. The very notoriety of a custom may be a reason, why the historian may omit the mention of its continuance. Of this Dr. Kennicott states a striking exemplification in the case of circumcision, which, though constantly observed by the Israelites, is yet never

once mentioned in the sacred history as having been practised in a single instance, from the settling of the Israelites in Canaan, down to the circumcision of our blessed Saviour; that is, for a space of one thousand four hundred and fifty years. And even of the observance of the sabbath itself, we find not one instance recorded, in any of the six books that follow the Mosaic code. What is thus applied to the continuance, will equally hold for the origin of a custom.

II. The second objection, derived from passages in the Old Testament in which God seems to disown the institution of sacrifice, is to be replied to by an examination of those passages. In the 1th Ps. God is described as saying, *I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices, or thy burnt-offerings—I will take no bullock*, &c.—*Will I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?*— And again in Ps. li. *Thou desirest not sacrifice —thou delightest not in burnt-offerings.*—And again in Ps. xl. *Burnt-offerings and sin-offerings hast thou not required.* Sacrifices here, it is said, are spoken of as not pleasing to God. But it is manifest, on an inspection of the context, that this is only intended in a *comparative* sense, and as abstracting from those concomitants, without which sacrifice never could have been acceptable to a holy and righteous God. This is farther confirmed by the manner in which similar declarations are introduced, in Isai. i. 11, 12. lxvi. 3. Prov. xv. 8. and Amos v. 21, 22. If

the argument be carried farther, it will prove too much; it will prove, in direct contradiction to the testimony of Moses, that the *Jewish* sacrifices had not been ordained by God. These passages, then, from the Psalms must go for nothing in the present argument.

But, then, it is said that the prophet Jeremiah (vii. 22.) furnishes a decisive proof in these words, — *For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices.* This, it is urged, as referring expressly to a time prior to the giving of the law at Mount Sinai, clearly proves that God did not institute sacrifices before the promulgation of the law by Moses. But this, like the former passages, is manifestly to be understood in a comparative sense only; as may easily be collected from what immediately follows: *But this thing I commanded them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people;* that is, 'The mere sacrifice was not that which I commanded, so much as that which was to give to the sacrifice its true virtue and efficacy, a sincere and pious submission to my will;' *to obey being* BETTER THAN *sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.* (1 Sam. xv. 22.) In like manner, — *I will have mercy, and* NOT *sacrifice.* (Hos. vi. 6.) *Rend your hearts, and* NOT *your garments.* (Joel ii. 13.) *Your murmurings are* NOT *against us, but against the*

Lord. (Ex. xvi. 8.) *Labour* NOT *for the meat that perisheth, but for the meat which endureth to everlasting life.* (Joh. vi. 27.) The Scripture abounds with similar instances, in which the negative form supplies the want of the comparative degree in the Hebrew idiom: not excluding the thing denied, but only implying a preference of the thing set in opposition to it.*

Dr. Blayney, indeed, thinks it not necessary to consider the words of Jeremiah in a comparative sense. The word עַל, he says, admitting the sense of *propter*, the passage should be read, *I spake not with your fathers, nor commanded them,* FOR THE SAKE OF *burnt offerings,* &c.; that is, God did not command these purely on their own account, but as a means to some other valuable end. The sense is substantially the same. Now, if the passage be not taken in this sense, but be supposed to imply, that God had not instituted sacrifices at the time of the departure of the Hebrews from Egypt, then a direct contradiction is given to the Mosaic History, which expressly declares, that God himself had ordained the slaying of the paschal lamb, not only before the giving of the law at Sinai, but before the migration of the Israelites from Egypt. And that this was really a sacrifice, and is repeatedly called by Moses by the very same term זֶבַח,

* See *Walt. Polyglot.* Proleg. Idiotism. 6. *Lowth* on Hos. vi. 6. *Mede*, p. 352. *Ken. Two Diss.* pp. 208, 209.; and *Jenn. Jew. Ant.* vol. i. p. 313.

which is here applied to denote sacrifice by the prophet, has been already fully shown in Number XXXV. of this work.

Or, again, if we concur in the interpretation of this passage, as given by the Jewish doctors, Jarchi and Maimonides, and adopted by Dr. Kennicott, we may consider it as a declaration on the part of God, that he had not first commanded the Israelites concerning the sacrificial rites, after he had led them out of Egypt. The passage in Jeremiah, say they, refers to the transaction at Marah. (See particularly *Kenn. Two Diss.* pp. 153. 209.) The Jews, when they had arrived here, three days after they had left the Red Sea, murmured at the bitterness of the waters: a miracle was wrought to sweeten them; and then God made a statute and ordinance for them, and proposed to them, in exact agreement with what is here said in Jeremiah, to obey him, to give ear to his commandments, and keep his statutes, and that he would in turn be their protector. (Ex. xv. 25, 26.) Now, this having been some time before the formal institution of the sacrificial rite at Mount Sinai, and the Jews having always dated the beginning of the law from this declaration at Marah, the Jewish doctors maintain it to be true in fact, that God did not *first* enjoin their code of sacrificial observances, but commanded them concerning moral obedience: and thus they understand the form of expression in Jeremiah, as we do that

of St. Paul, *Adam was* NOT *deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression* (1 Tim. ii. 14.); that is, Adam was not first deceived, and was not first in the transgression; but Eve. The meaning of the passage in Jeremiah would then be, that as God had not, in the first instance, enjoined to the Jews their sacrificial ritual, after he had led them out of Egypt; so they were not to attach to the observance of all its *minutiæ* a superiority over moral obedience, but the contrary, the latter having been first commanded.* This explanation agrees in substance with the former: and from both it manifestly appears, that this passage has no relation to the *original institution* of animal sacrifice.

The whole of this subject is fully and ably treated by Mede, who sums up his entire argument in these words. "According to one of these three senses, are all passages in the Old Testament disparaging and rejecting sacrifices literally to be understood: namely, when men preferred them before the greater things of the Law; valued them out of their degree, as an *antecedent duty;* or placed their efficacy in the naked rite, as if aught accrued to God thereby; God would no longer own them for any ordinance of his; nor, indeed, in that disguise put

* See *Maim. Moreh. Nev.* part. iii. cap. 32. ap. fin.—*Kennicott's Two Diss.* pp. 153. 209.— and *Jenn. Jew. Ant.* vol. i. p. 312.

upon them, were they." *Mede's Works*, pp. 352, 353.

NO. LVIII. — ON THE SACRIFICE OF ABEL, AS EVINCING THE DIVINE INSTITUTION OF SACRIFICE.

PAGE 47. (m) — Hallet considers this single fact as supplying so strong an argument on the present question, that he does not hesitate to pronounce it, a *demonstration* of a divine institution. "For," he says, "Abel's sacrifice could not have been acceptable, if it had not been of divine appointment, according to that obvious maxim, of all true religion, *In vain do they worship God, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* (Mark vii. 7.) Thus Abel must have worshipped God in vain, had his sacrificing been merely a commandment of his father Adam, or an invention of his own. And, to make this matter more evident, why do we not now offer up a bullock, a sheep, or a pigeon, as a thank-offering after any remarkable deliverance, or as an evidence of our apprehensions of the demerit of sin? The true reason is, because we cannot know that God will accept such *will-worship*, and so conclude that we should herein worship God in vain. As Abel, then, did not sacrifice in vain, it was not *will-worship*, but a divine appointment. To this, the want of a *right* to slay

animals before the flood, unless conferred by God for this very purpose of sacrifice, gives yet farther confirmation." *Hallet* on Hebr. xi. 4.

Dr. Richie remarks, that the *divine acceptance* is not confined to the sacrifice of Abel, but that we find it extended also to others offered under the patriarchal dispensation. Thus, God is said to have *smelled a sweet savour* (a strong expression of his acceptance) when Noah offered his burnt-offering. Job's care, likewise, to offer burnt-offerings for his children, is mentioned as an eminent effect of piety, and with particular marks of approbation. (Job, ch. i.) And the honourable mention, which is made of the sacrifices offered by other pious men in this period of the world, leaves no room to doubt of their having been likewise graciously accepted by God. It is, moreover, to be observed, that the oblation of some of those early sacrifices was expressly ordered by God himself; as the burnt-offering of Abraham (Gen. xxii.), and those which were offered by the three friends of Job. (Job, xlii.) Now, that it is more natural to think, that God would *order* and *accept of* the performance of a mode of worship which had been instituted by himself, than that he would thus countenance one which had been the product of mere human invention, is a thing which will not bear much dispute. See *Dr. Richie's Pec. Doct.* vol. i. pp. 149, 150. Indeed, whoever wishes to see the subject of the divine in-

stitution of sacrifices satisfactorily treated, may consult the last-named work, p. 136—151., to great advantage. See also *Barrington's Misc. Sac.* vol. iii. p. 67—71.; and *Heideg. Hist. Patr. Exercit.* iii. § 52, 53. tom. i.

This last-mentioned writer considers the ἐμπυρισμὸς, or the burning of the sacrifice by fire from heaven, a decisive proof of a divine institution: and that the patriarchs were favoured with this infallible sign of the divine acceptance of their sacrifices, the language of Scripture, he thinks, leaves us no room to doubt. That it was by this sign that it was known that the sacrifice of Abel was accepted, is the almost unanimous opinion of the fathers. And in this the Jewish doctors concur: as see *Aben Ezra* and *Jarchi* on Gen. iv. 4. Theodotion translates the verb in this verse, ἐνεπύρισεν: a translation with which even Julian was satisfied.

It is certain that this manifestation of the divine power was vouchsafed in later times. The sacrifice of Abraham, Gen. xv. 17., supplies a striking instance of it. And if Shuckford's reading of בער (to kindle), instead of עבר (to pass), be admitted, this passage becomes in itself decisive of the point. (*Connection*, &c. vol. i. p. 298.) But if we look to the period *under the law*, we shall find *this* the usual method* of signifying the divine acceptance of the sacrifice.

* See Lev. ix. 24. Judg. vi. 21. 1 Kings xviii. 38. 1 Chr. xxi. 26. 2 Chr. vii. 1, &c.

Hence, to *accept* a burnt sacrifice, is called in the Hebrew, Ps. xx. 3., to *turn it into ashes.* The relics of this are to be found even in the heathen traditions. Thus Servius on *Æn.* xii. 200. says, "Amongst the ancients fire was not lighted upon the altar, but by prayer they called down fire from heaven, which consumed the offering." From these, and other arguments not less forcible, every commentator of note had been led to pronounce in favour of the idea, that the acceptance of the sacrifice was testified, from the beginning, in the miraculous manner here described.* That the fire which consumed the sacrifice was a flame which issued from the *Shechinah*, or glorious visible presence of God, is the opinion of Lord Barrington: see *Miscell. Sacr.* vol. iii. Dissert. 2., "On God's visible presence." But be this as it may, the fact of this divine fire consuming the sacrifice seems to be established; and the inference from this fact in favour of the divine institution of sacrifice cannot easily be overturned.

NO. LIX. — ON THE HISTORY AND THE BOOK OF JOB.

PAGE 48. (n) — There is no one part of the sacred volume which has more exercised the

* See *Fagius, Frotius, Le Clerc, Ainsw. Patrick, Jameson, Dathe, Rosenmüller*, &c. on Gen. iv. 4.

ingenuity of the learned, than the book of Job. Whether it contain a true history or a fabulous relation? If true, at what time and place Job lived? And what the date, and author, to be assigned to the work?—These are questions, which have given birth to opinions so various, and to controversies so involved, that to enumerate all, and to weigh their several merits, would far exceed the compass of the present work. But to take a brief review of the opinions of the *most distinguished* critics, and to elicit from contending arguments the probable result, whilst necessary to the subject of our present inquiry, cannot fail to furnish matter of interesting investigation.

I. On the first of the questions above stated, there have been three opinions: one, pronouncing the poem to be a real narrative: a second, holding it to be a mere fictitious relation, intended to instruct through the medium of parable: and the third, adopting an intermediate idea, and maintaining the work itself to be dramatic and allegorical, but founded upon the history of real characters and events.

Among the many distinguished names which support the first opinion, are to be reckoned, in later times, those of Spanheim, Sherlock, Schultens, Bishop Lowth, Peters, and Kennicott: to these, perhaps, may be added that of Grotius, who, though he contends that the work is a *poetic* representation, yet admits the subject to

be matter of true history. In defence of this opinion, the work is considered as supplying strong intrinsic evidence; the general style and manner of the writer betraying nothing allegorical, but every where bespeaking a literal relation of actual events; entering into circumstantial details of habitation, kindred, and names; and adhering with undeviating exactness to those manners and usages, which belong to the age and country of which it seems to treat. The reality of the person of Job is also attested by the prophet Ezekiel, who ranks him with two other real and illustrious characters; and by the apostle James, who proposes him as a character particularly deserving of imitation. Concurrent traces of profane history, too, supply additional confirmation, as may be seen in Dr. Gray's account of the book of Job; so that, as this judicious writer properly observes, "it has every external sanction of authority, and is stamped with every intrinsic mark, that can characterise a genuine relation."

In direct opposition to this is the system of Maimonides; which, representing the whole as a parabolical and fictitious relation, has been adopted, successively, by Le Clerc and Michaelis. The arguments of the first of these writers have been fully replied to by Codurcus; those of the second, by Peters; and those of the last have received some judicious animadversions from the pens of Dr. Gray and Dr. Gregory. The argu-

ments commonly urged in support of this hypothesis are derived from certain circumstances of intrinsic improbability: such as, the miraculous rapidity with which the calamities of Job succeeded; the escape of precisely one servant to bear the news of each disaster; the destruction of 7000 sheep, at once struck dead by lightning; the seven days' silence of the friends of Job; the highly figurative and *poetic* style of dialogue, which never could have taken place in actual conversation. These are what Peters calls the *little exceptions* of Le Clerc to the truth of the history; and might, *some* of them, deserve attention, were we neither to admit a supernatural agency in the transactions, nor a poetic rapidity in the narrative rejecting the consideration of unimportant particulars.

An objection, however, of greater moment, is derived from the conversation of Satan with the Almighty: and to this Michaelis adds others which he claims as his peculiar invention, deduced from the name of Job; from the artificial regularity of the numbers; and from internal inconsistencies and contradictions. Of these last named, perhaps, the two former might well be ranked among the *little exceptions*: the derivation of the name of Job, from a word which signifies *repentance*, being at best but conjectural; and, even were it certain, making nothing against the reality of the persons; names having been frequently given in ancient times, from

circumstances which occurred at an advanced period of life; of which numerous instances appear in holy writ: and, as to the regularity of the numbers—the years of Job's life, his children, his sheep, his camels, his oxen, and his asses, being all told in round numbers, and all exactly doubled in the years of his prosperity—it is obvious to remark, that it would ill suit the fulness and elegance of poetic* narration to descend to the *minutiæ* of exact numeration; and that, as to the *precise duplication*, it is but a periphrasis growing out of the former enumeration, intended merely to express, that the Lord gave to Job twice as much as he had before.

The two remaining objections require more particular consideration. And first, as to the incredibility of the conversation, which is related to have taken place between the Almighty and Satan, it may be observed, that this, and the assemblage of the celestial intelligences before the throne of God, should be considered as poetical, or, as Peters with more propriety expresses it, *prophetical* personifications, in accommodation to our limited faculties, which are abundantly authorized by God himself in holy Scripture, and are perfectly agreeable to the style wherein his prophets have been frequently commanded to

* The poem, perhaps, *strictly speaking*, may be said not to begin until the third chapter; that which precedes being narration. But the narration, agreeably to the lofty style of the East, is itself of poetical elevation.

deliver the most solemn and important truths. Thus, the prophetic visions of Isaiah (ch. vi.), of Ezek. (ch. i.), of St. Paul (2 Cor. xii. 2. 4.), and of St. John (Rev. iv. 1, 2.), represent the proceedings of Providence, in like reference to our powers and modes of conception; and the vision of Micaiah (1 Kings xxii. 19—23.), and that of Zechariah (ii. 13. iii. 1.), supply cases precisely parallel, in every respect. Farmer justly remarks on this subject, that such "visions, or parabolical representations, convey instruction as *truly* and properly, as if they were exact copies of outward objects." * And, indeed, if the introduction of Satan be admitted as an argument against the truth of the history, it should lead us equally to reject the narrative of our Lord's temptation, as an unfounded fiction. If, however, the opinion of Dathe (which has also the support of Herder, Eichhorn, and Doederlein,) be well founded, all difficulty arising even from this circumstance is removed; inasmuch as, THE EVIL SPIRIT is not, according to his interpretation, intended, but one of the angelic ministers, whose peculiar office it was to explore and try the real characters of men, and to distinguish the hypocrite from the sincerely pious.

The objection, derived from the internal incon-

* *Enquiry into the Temptation*, p. 164.—attend to this writer's observations,—also to *Chappel. Comment. pref.* p. xiv. and particularly to *Peters's Crit. Diss.* p. 113—122. and *Taylor's Scheme of Scr. Div.* ch. xxi.

sistencies and contradictions of the work, is thus stated by Michaelis:—Job, who could not have been advanced in years himself, upbraids his friends with their youth (xxx. i.): yet these very men exact reverence from Job as their junior, speaking of themselves as *aged men, much older than* his *father* (xv. 10.); and are expressly described by Elihu (xxxii. 6, 7.), as men to be respected for their hoary age. (*Notæ et Epimetra*, pp. 178, 179.) This argument Michaelis admits to be the grand strength of his cause, and to this Dr. Gregory's reply is satisfactory, so far as the meaning of the passage (xxx. 1.) is concerned; in which there certainly appears no relation to the friends of Job, but merely a general complaint, bewailing the degraded state to which himself had fallen; and contrasting with that high respect which he had in former days experienced,—when even *the* AGED *arose and stood up*, *when princes refrained talking*, and *the nobles held their peace*,—his present abject condition, when even those that were YOUNGER than he, and who were of such mean descent, that he *would have disdained to have set their fathers with the dogs of his flock* (by which he could not possibly have intended his three friends), *now held him in derision*. But, I apprehend, Dr. Gregory's criticism on ch. xv. 10.—namely, that by the words, *with us* (אִתָּנוּ), is meant, *with us in opinion*—is not at all supported by the genius of the Hebrew, nor by parallel usage. I think it is evident both from

this and the passage, xxxii. 6, 7., that the friends of Job, or some of them, were aged. But in the true meaning of the word ישיש, which seems to have been hit off by Chappelow alone of all the commentators, we shall find a complete solution of the difficulty. This word, as Chappelow remarks, on Job xii. 12. and xxxii. 6., does not merely imply *age*, but the *wisdom* which should accompany age. It may, perhaps, not improperly be expressed, in our language, by the single term *sage*. Taking the word in this sense, no inconsistency whatever appears: for then the thing denied by Job to his friends, in xii. 12., claimed by themselves in xv. 10., and ascribed to them by Elihu, in xxxii. 6, 7., will be, not length of years, but those fruits of wisdom, which years should have produced. It should also be noted, that in xv. 10. the words are in the singular number; so that, in strictness, no more than one amongst them is here spoken of, as advanced in age beyond the years of Job. Indeed, an inconsistency so gross and obvious, as this which is charged against the book of Job by the German Professor, cannot be other than seeming, and founded in some misapprehension of the meaning of the original. Even admitting the poem to be fabulous, he must have been a clumsy contriver, who could in one place describe his characters as young, and in another as extremely aged, when urged to it by no necessity whatever, and at full liberty to frame his narrative as he pleased. And this want of

comprehension should least of all have been objected by those critics, who, in supposing the work to have been composed in an age and country different from those whose manners it professes to describe, are compelled, upon their own hypothesis, to ascribe to the writer an uncommon portion of address and refinement.

But, supposing the narrative to have a foundation in truth, the *third* hypothesis, which represents this as wrought up into an allegorical drama, remains to be considered. This strange conceit was the invention of Warburton. He considers Job, his wife, and his three friends, as designed to personate the Jewish people on their return from the captivity, their idolatrous wives, and the three great enemies of the Jews at that period, Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem. This allegorical scheme has been followed by Garnet, with some variations, whereby the history of Job is ingeniously strained to a description of the Jewish sufferings, *during* the captivity. The whole of Warburton's system, "the improbabilities of which," as Peters observes, "are by no means glossed over by the elaborate reasoning and extravagant assertions of the learned writer," is fully examined and refuted by that ingenious author, in the first eight sections of his *Critical Dissertation.*

The arguments by which this extraordinary hypothesis has been supported are drawn from the highly poetic and figurative style of the

work, whence it is inferred to be *dramatic*; and from the unsuitableness of particular actions and expressions to the real characters, which at the same time correspond to the persons whom these characters are supposed to represent, whence it is inferred to be *allegorical*. But, from the first nothing more can fairly be deduced, than that the writer has not given the precise words of the speakers, but has dressed out the dialogue with the ornaments of poetry, in a manner which, as Dathe truly tells us, is agreeable to the customs of the country in which the scene is laid: it being usual to represent the conferences of their wise men on philosophic questions, in the most elevated strain of poetic diction. (See *Dath.* on Job, ch. iii.) And as to the second, it cannot appear to a sober reader in any other light than that of a wild and arbitrary fancy. Bishop Lowth declares, that he has not been able to discover a single vestige of an allegorical meaning, throughout the entire poem. It requires but a sound understanding to be satisfied, that it has no such aspect. And, at all events, this strange hypothesis rests altogether upon another; namely, that the book was written in the age of those, to whom it is supposed to bear this allegorical application. If then, as we shall hereafter see, there be no just ground for assigning to the work so late a date, the whole of this airy fabric vanishes at once.

II. The history of Job appearing now, on the whole, to be a true relation, the second question comes to be considered, — In what *age*, and *country*, did he live? As to the place of Job's residence, there seems to be little difficulty. Commentators are mostly agreed in fixing on Idumæa, a part of Arabia Petræa. Kennicott (*Remarks on Select Passages*, p. 152.) considers Bishop Lowth as having completely proved this point. Codurcus had long before maintained the same opinion (*Præf. ad Job.*); and Dathe and the modern German commentators give it their support. The position of the land of Uz (see Lam. iv. 21.), the residence of Job, and of the several places named as the habitations of his friends, seems to ascertain the point with sufficient precision. *Children of the East*, also, appears to be a denomination *applicable* to the inhabitants of that region (see *Lowth, Prælect.* xxxii.), and is even pronounced by Dathe to have been *appropriate*.

The only objection deserving notice, that can be raised against this supposition, is drawn from the great distance of Idumæa from the country of the Chaldeans, who, living on the borders of the Euphrates, could not easily have made depredations on the camels of Job. And this has been thought by some a sufficient cause for assigning to Job a situation in Arabia Deserta, and not far from the Euphrates. But, as Lowth replies, what should prevent the Chaldeans, as well

as the Sabeans, a people addicted to rapine, and roving about at immense distances for the sake of plunder, from wandering through those defenceless regions, and pervading from Euphrates even to Egypt? And, on the other hand, what probability is there, that all the friends of Job, residing in and near Idumæa, should be instantly informed of all that had happened to Job in the desert of Arabia, and on the confines of Chaldea, and repair thither immediately after the transaction? Shuckford's arguments concur with these of Lowth, and are fully satisfactory on this head. See *Connect.* B. vii. vol. ii. p. 138. See also *Gray* on the book of Job, note r.[1] The LXX likewise describe the land of Uz as situated in Idumæa: and Job himself they consider an Idumæan, and a descendant of Esau. (See Append. of the LXX.) The Mohammedan writers likewise inform us that he was of the race of Esau. See *Sale's Koran*, ch. 21. vol. ii. p. 162.

With respect to the *age* of Job, one thing seems generally admitted; namely, its remote antiquity. Even they who contend for the late production of the *book* of Job are compelled to acquiesce in this. Grotius thinks the events of the history are such, as cannot be placed later than the sojourning of the Israelites in the wilderness. *Præf. ad Job.* Warburton, in like manner, admits them to bear the marks of high antiquity: and Michaelis confesses the manners represented

to be perfectly Abrahamic, such as were common to all the seed of Abraham, Israelites, Ishmaelites, and Idumæans. (*Not. et Epim.* p. 181.)

Some of the principal circumstances, from which the age of Job may be collected, are these which follow. 1. The general air of antiquity which is spread over the manners recorded in the poem, of which Michaelis, as above referred to, has given striking instances. 2. The length of Job's life, which seems to place him in the patriarchal times. 3. The allusions made by Job to that species of idolatry alone, which by general confession was the most ancient, and which, as Lowth observes (*Lectures on Sacred Poetry*, Greg. ed. vol. ii. p. 355.), is a decisive mark of the patriarchal age. 4. The nature of the sacrifice offered by him in conformity to the divine command; namely, *seven* oxen and *seven* rams, similar to that of Balaam, and suitable to the respect entertained for the number seven in the earliest ages.* This, though, as Mr. Henley observes, the ancient practice might have been continued in Idumæa after the promulgation of the Mosaic† law, is far from being, as he asserts, destitute of weight; inasmuch as the sacrifice was offered *by the command of God;* who, al-

* See *Jablonski Panth. Ægypt. Proleg.* p. 53—59. *Univ. Hist.* B. iii. ch. xxxvii. sect. 3.; also *Ains.* on Lev. iv. 6. and Numb. xxxiii. 1.

† See Mr. Henley's note in *Dr. Gregory's translation of Lowth's Lectures,* vol. ii. p. 356.

though he might be supposed graciously to accommodate himself to the prevailing customs, *before* the promulgation of the Law, yet cannot be imagined, *after* he had prescribed a certain mode of sacrifice to the Israelites, to sanction by his express authority, in a country immediately adjoining, a mode entirely different, and one which the Mosaic code was intended to supersede. 5. The language of Job and his friends, who, being all Idumæans, or at least Arabians of the adjacent country, yet converse in Hebrew. This carries us up to an age so early, as that in which all the posterity of Abraham, Israelites, Idumæans, and Arabians, yet continued to speak one common language, and had not branched into different dialects.* 6. Certain customs of the most remote antiquity are alluded to by Job. He speaks of the most ancient kind of writing, by *sculpture*. His riches also are reckoned by his cattle. And as to the word קשיטה, which is translated a *piece of money*, there seems good reason to understand it as signifying a *lamb*.

This word occurs but in two other parts of Scripture, Gen. xxxiii. 19. and Josh. xxiv. 32., and in both of these it is applied to the purchase of a piece of ground by Jacob, who is on that particular occasion represented as rich in flocks, and as driving with him large quantities of cattle: and, accordingly, the Targum of Onkelos, the

* See *Lowth, de Sacr. Poes. Præl.* xxxii. p. 311.; also *Gray* on Job, note a^3.

LXX, Jerome, Pagninus, and the learned Jew Aben Ezra, have all of them rendered the word *lamb*, or *sheep*. In order to force the word to the signification of a piece of money, it has been pretended, that the coin bore the impress of a lamb. Upon this *conjecture*, and a passage in Acts vii. 15, 16., which can give it no support, is the entire interpretation built.* Now the notion of a *stamped* coin, as Dathe remarks (on Job xlii. 11.), is inadmissible in an age so early as that of Jacob. The way of payment in silver in the time of Abraham we know to have been by weight, or shekels uncoined: and what authority have we to pronounce, that stamped money was in use in the time of Jacob? The money which was put into the sacks of Joseph's brethren seems to have been the same as in the time of Abraham, being called צרור כסף, strictly *bundles of silver* (Gen. xlii. 35.); an expression not likely to be applied to *coined pieces* of money. And, indeed, no expression, indicating such *pieces* of money, seems to occur in any of the early books of the Bible. *Junius* and *Tremellius* on Gen. xxxiii. 19.† speak of *sheep*, as the ancient medium of

* See *Cocc. Lex.* — *Calas. Concord.* — *Drusius*, and *Grotius*, and *Hodge's Elihu*, on Job xlii. 11.; also *Hamm.* and *Whitby*, on Acts vii. 15, 16.

† *Geddes* in his *Critical Remarks* truly observes, on the word קשיטה in this passage, that "most interpreters, after The Sept. have understood it of *lambs*, more particularly *ewe-lambs*. So equivalently (he adds) all the ancient versions. Some have

traffic; and pronounce the word קשיטה to be peculiar to the Arabians and ancient Canaanites. This, and the remark of Codurcus, "that as *pecunia* was first called from *pecus*, so *Keschita*, which first signified *pecus*, was afterwards transferred to signify *pecunia*," tend to confirm our reasoning. For if a *sheep* was the most ancient medium of traffic, and was in the earliest times expressed by the word *Keschita*, whilst its subsequent transfer to denote *pecunia* is but conjectural, there can be but little difficulty as to the conclusion. See also an elaborate dissertation on the word by *Costard*: in which he shows, that the first stamping of money with any effigies was of a date several centuries later than the time of Jacob, not having been known before the time of Cyrus. (*Inquiry into the Meaning of the Word Kesitah*, p. 12, &c.) If this opinion be right, the point is decided. At all events it should be remembered, that, if *Keschita* must signify a piece of money, the only age, beside that of Job, in which we find the word applied in Scripture, is the age of Jacob. That no such coin was known of under the Mosaic dispensation, is shown by Hodges, in his *Elihu*, p. 242. I have dwelt thus long upon the investigation of the true meaning of this word, as well because

---

imagined (he says) that it was a piece of money with the figure of a lamb on it: which is highly improbable, as coined money is of a much later date."

the interpretation of it, as a stamped *piece of money*, seems to have been too easily acquiesced in by commentators in general; as because I would not presume to differ from the received translation without the most careful examination.

From the above considerations, the great antiquity of Job seems to be an unavoidable consequence. To specify the exact time at which he lived, is a matter of greater difficulty, but of inferior importance. Eusebius places him before Moses two whole ages: and in this he concurs with the opinion of many of the Hebrew writers, who (as Selden observes) describe him as living in the days of Isaac and Jacob. That the judgment of the Eastern nations does not differ much from this, may be seen in *Hottinger's Smegma Orientale*, p. 381. (See *Patrick's Pref. to Job.*) Shuckford is of opinion that he was contemporary with Isaac. (*Connect.* B. vii. vol. ii. p. 127.) Spanheim (*Hist. Job*, cap. ix. p. 285.) places him between the death of Joseph and the departure from Egypt. But whoever wishes to see the most probable, and satisfactory account, may consult the table of descent given by Kennicott (*Remarks*, &c. p. 152.), in which Job is represented as contemporary with Amram, the father of Moses; Eliphaz the Temanite, who was the fifth from Abraham, being contemporary with both. Mr. Heath agrees with this account, in placing the death of Job about fourteen years before the Exodus.

III. The third and last question now comes to be considered; namely, what date, and author, are to be assigned to the *book* of Job. That the poem is as ancient as its subject, and that Job was not only the hero but the author of the work, is the opinion of many distinguished commentators. The objections brought against this opinion are derived from marks of later times, which it is said are to be discerned in the work, and which are copiously summed up and largely insisted on by Mr. Heath.

1. It is urged, that there is frequent allusion to the laws of Moses.—On the directly opposite presumption it had been pronounced, that the book *could not* have been written at a late period, for the benefit of the Jews; inasmuch as there is not to be found in it, "one single word of the law of Moses, nor so much as one distant allusion to any rite or ceremony of the law."* The instances adduced by Heath, in support of his position, are taken from Job iii. 19., and xli. 14., and xxxi. 28.; the two first of which, in speaking of *manumission*, and *eternal servitude*, allude, as he says, to the law in Exod. xxi. 2—6., concerning the release of the Hebrew servant in the seventh year, and the ceremony of piercing the ear where an eternal servitude was consented to: and the third, in describing idolatry as *a crime to be punished by the judge*, must, as he thinks,

* See *Sherlock's Use of Proph.* Diss. ii. p. 207.; see also *Lowth, Prælect.* xxxii. p. 312.

relate to the Mosaic dispensation; the laws of the Mosaic polity being the only ones in the world which punished idolatry. (*Essay towards a New Version*, p. 129.) As to the two first instances, the resemblance is so imaginary; or, rather, so truly chimerical an idea, as not to deserve an answer: if the reader, however, wish to see one, he will find it in *Mich. Not. et Epim.* p. 189. To the third, which has also the authority of Warburton and Mr. Locke, it may be replied, that Scripture decides the point; as it informs us, that Abraham was called from Chaldea on account of the increase of idolatry, to raise a people for the preservation of the worship of the true God: so that the allusion to the exertion of judicial authority against idolatry, was most naturally to be expected from a descendant of this patriarch, and, it may be added, from one not far removed. See *Lowth's Lectures, &c.* Greg. ed. vol. ii. pp. 354, 355.; also *Michael. Not. et Epim.* p. 190.; and especially *Peters, Crit. Diss., pref.* p. iii—xii., where this point receives the most ample examination.

2. It is contended that there are allusions, not only to the *laws*, but to the *history*, of the Jewish people. But these allusions, as stated by Heath, are so extremely fanciful, as in the opinion of Michaelis to require no farther refutation than the bare reading of the passages referred to. (*Not. et Epim.* pp. 191, 192.) Some of the same kind had been urged by Warburton (*Div. Leg.*

B. vi. § ii. vol. iii. p. 494—499.), and proved to be futile and visionary by Peters. (*Crit. Diss.* p. 28—36.) Indeed, these points have been so completely canvassed, that we may now with confidence pronounce, as Sherlock had done before (*Use of Proph.* p. 297.), that there is no one allusion, direct or indirect, either to the *law*, or to the *history*, of the Jews, that can be fairly pointed out in the book of Job.

But, 3., it is maintained, both by Heath and Warburton, that the use of the word *Jehovah* determines the date of the book to be later than the age of Moses: God not having been known by that name, until he appeared to Moses, as he himself declares, in Exod. vi. 3. This, however, is evidently a misapprehension of the meaning of the passage in Exodus: it being certain, that God *was* known to the patriarchs, Abraham and Jacob, by the name of Jehovah; that he calls himself by that name in speaking to them; and that he is so called by them again expressly.* The sense of the passage then must be, not that the *name* was unknown to all before Moses, but its true *signification*; that is, the nature and properties of the *self-existent* Being, expressed by that comprehensive name JEHOVAH, which in the original signifies, according to Le Clerc, and almost all the commentators, *faithful* and *stedfast, making things to be*, that is, fulfilling all his

* See Gen. xiv. 22., xv. 2. 8. 7., xxiv. 3., xxviii. 13. 16., and xxxii. 9.

promises, which he began to accomplish in the time of Moses. By this name, then, *in its true sense*, God certainly was not *known*, or, as Peters renders it, was not *distinguished*, before the time of Moses.* This objection may, consequently, be set aside.

Nor will the 4th objection, derived from the mention of *Satan*, be found to have greater weight. The *Evil Being*, it is contended both by Heath and Warburton, was not known to the Jews in early days; and the word *Satan* never occurs until a late period of their history, as a

* See *Vatablus, Dath.* and *Rosenm.* in locum — also *Peters's pref. to Crit. Diss.* p. xii—xvi., and Bishop *Kidder's Comm. on the Five Books of Moses*, vol. i. p. 297. The last-named learned expositor, agreeably to the idea suggested above, explains the passage in Exodus thus: — "JEHOVAH denotes not only God's *eternal being*, but his giving of being to other things, and especially the performing his promise. Now Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had received promises, but enjoyed not the thing promised. The time was now come in which God would bring to pass what he had promised; and now they should know that he is the Lord. Isai. xlix. 23., liii. 6., lx. 16. *The knowing him by his name Jehovah*, implies *the receiving from him what he had promised before*," &c. This view of the matter ought to have saved Dr. Geddes from the very laborious discussion of the point into which he has entered in his *Critical Remarks*, and finally from the necessity of pronouncing, that "we must either suppose *the writer of Exodus in contradiction with the writer of Genesis*, or allow *that the name* JEHOVAH *has been put in the mouths of the patriarchs prior to Moses, and in the mouth of God himself, by some posterior copier*, corrupting the original passages by substituting for אלהים, the word יהוה, which had in later times become the peculiar name of God among the Hebrews."

proper name ; in which light it is said to be here necessarily used, as being preceded by the emphatic article ה, השטן, i. e. THE ADVERSARY. But, that the doctrine of an *evil spirit* was not unknown to the Jews at an early day, is evident from the history of Ahab, in which mention is made of it as a thing familiar, and in a manner precisely similar to the present case. Indeed the history of the fall could scarcely be made intelligible to them without that doctrine; and Warburton himself admits (B. vi. § 2. vol. ii. p. 533.), that the notion of an evil principle had probably arisen "from the history of Satan misunderstood, or imperfectly told, in the first ages of mankind." In the next place the word, SATAN*, was clearly not unknown to the early Jews, as appears from the use of it in Numb. xxii. 22. in the story of Balaam. We find it also in 2 Sam. xix. 22., 1 Kings v. 4., xi. 14. 23. 25., Psal. lxxi. 13., cix. 20. 29. But if it be asserted that it is used in those several places only as a common appellative, yet still it will not follow, that the *name* might not have been used, as the *Being* was certainly known amongst the early Jews; nor does it even appear, that the word is *here* used as a proper name ; as the article may be employed only to mark out *that* adversary, or accusing spirit amongst the angelic tribe, who had under-

* See on this word *Taylor's Scheme of Script. Div.* ch. xi.

taken the office of putting the virtue of Job to trial; so that no part of the objection is valid. See *Mich. Not. et Epim.* pp. 193. 199. and *Dath.* as referred to p. 324.: and on this entire objection consult *Warb. Div. Leg.* vol. ii. p. 530—535. and *Peters's Crit. Diss.* p. 88—92.

But, 5., it is argued, and upon this point Heath and most other objectors principally rely, that the book of Job abounds with Chaldaisms, Syriasms, and Arabisms, which clearly prove the lateness of its production. Now, in opposition to this, we have the authority of the most distinguished scholars and critics, Schultens and Michaelis, in pronouncing that the charge of *Chaldaisms* is totally erroneous. Those Chaldaisms, on which Le Clerc so confidently relies, by which the plural termination *in* is put for *im*, Schultens asserts to be "Hebraicæ et Arabicæ dictionis, atque *vetustissimæ monetæ*" (*Dr. Grey's Job*, pref. p. xii.): and Michaelis affirms, that of *such* Chaldaisms as by their present use might evince the lateness of a Hebrew work, not one is to be discovered in this book. (*Not. et Epim.* p. 193.) The prefix of ש, in ch. xv. 30., supposed to be a Chaldaism from אשר, he proves is not so. And, even were it so used, this is shown by Kennicott (*Remarks*, &c. p. 153.), to supply no argument against the antiquity of the book, that will not equally affect the book of Genesis. That expressions of *Syriac* and *Arabic* affinity frequently occur, there can indeed be no question. This

stands upon the authority of the most distinguished scholars, Bochart, Pocock, Hottinger, and Walton. (See *Wits. Misc. Sac.* Lib. i. cap. xvi. § 28.) Nor is this denied by Schultens, Kennicott, and Michaelis. But from this they infer the remote antiquity of the work; since, says Michaelis, the Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, are not to be considered so much different languages, as dialects of one radical language, originally common to the descendants of Abraham; and the higher we ascend, the more resemblance we shall consequently find. But, besides, Michaelis adds that one principal reason for our attributing to the book of Job, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic expressions, may be its very great antiquity, and uncommon sublimity of elevation, occasioning a greater number of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα, and expressions difficult to be understood: which commentators are consequently led to explain from those several languages; not because the words strictly belong to them, but because there are more books, and better understood in those languages, than in the Hebrew; and hence it is supposed, that the expressions actually belong to those languages.*

On this topic, perhaps, so much need not have been said, had not the high authority of Bishop

* *Mich. Not. et Epim.* pp. 194, 195. See *Peters's Crit. Diss.* p. 133—137. and 141—143.; see also *Codurc. præf. ad Job.*, where the necessity of consulting Targums, &c. is urged in a way which fully justifies this solution of Michaelis.

Law given to the objection more consequence than truly belongs to it, by the hint conveyed in his ingenious work on the *Theory of Religion* (p. 74.), that the subject of it had been "too slightly passed over." Since the time of the Bishop it has received more ample discussion: and from that discussion there seems to arise the strongest argument in favour of the antiquity of the book of Job. So that we may see the justness of Bishop Lowth's remark, that "from the *language*, and even from the *obscurity*, of the work," no less than from its subject, it may fairly be inferred, "to be the most ancient of all the sacred books." *Præl. Hebr.* xxxii.——But not only do these criticisms bear upon the age of the poem, but on the country of its author. For does not the mixture of foreign expressions rather prove that the author was not a Jew; and does not that of the Arabic, particularly, with which it is considered most to abound, indicate its Arabic extraction, which perfectly agrees with the supposition of Job having been its author? And it deserves to be noticed, that even Codurcus, who supposes it to be the work of one of the later prophets, yet conjectures from the style, that the prophet might have been originally from Idumæa,—the very country of Job. (*Præf. ad Job.*)

6. It is objected by Codurcus, Grotius, and Le Clerc, that there are passages in the book of Job which so strongly resemble some in the Psalms

and Proverbs, that we may fairly suppose them to have been taken from those writings. But to this Warburton has well replied, that "if the sacred writers must needs have borrowed trite moral sentences from one another, it may be as fairly said, that the authors of the Psalms borrowed from the book of Job, as that the author of Job borrowed from the book of Psalms:" *Div. Leg.* vol. ii. p. 499. See also *Peters's Crit. Diss.* p. 139—141. And had the learned Bishop been disposed to exercise as unbiassed a criticism upon himself, as he has done upon Grotius and Le Clerc, he would have felt the same argument bearing with equal force against the objection which he has attempted to deduce from the supposed adoption of certain *phrases*, which are found in other books of the Old Testament. That, however, which the Bishop has not done for himself, Peters has done for him; by showing that those few phrases, which he has instanced, have no peculiar stamp of age or country, and bear no marks whatever of being borrowed from other parts of Scripture. (*Crit. Diss.* p. 26—29.) It should also be observed, that, in opposition to the above-mentioned objection of Grotius, Le Clerc, &c., Bishop Hare has endeavoured to show, that there is internal evidence that the Psalmist has borrowed from Job, not Job from the Psalmist. And Chappelow (*Comment. on Job*, v. 16., viii. 10., and pref. p. 10.) represents the passages which are common to

Job with the writers of the Psalms, Proverbs, &c. as proverbial forms of speech, sentences of instruction, or מלים, *millim*, as they are peculiarly called in Job, transmitted from one age to another. It therefore is not necessary to suppose that either borrowed from the other.

I have now enumerated all the arguments deserving of any notice, which have been urged against the antiquity of the book of Job. How conjectural, unfounded, and futile most of them are, and how inconclusive others, it is not difficult to discover. This indeed they tend to show, that the more the objections against the antiquity of this book are examined, the stronger will the arguments be found in favour of it. In addition, however, to what has appeared, there are some positive proofs which have been advanced, and which are not a little worthy of consideration. Bishop Patrick has observed, in his preface to Job, that though there is plain mention of the deluge, and the burning of Sodom, there is no allusion to the drowning of Pharaoh, and the other miraculous works attending the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt: and that Elihu, when expressly reckoning up the different modes of revelation, takes no notice of the revelation made to Moses. These omissions, however, as well as the want of reference to any of the Mosaic rites, though they furnish a decisive proof against the late age of the book, on the supposition of the author being a *Jew*, yet

do so, it must be confessed, *only* upon that supposition. But it will not be easy to account for the circumstance of the book's containing no allusion to "any one piece of history later than Moses" (*Sherl. Use of Proph.* p. 207.), upon *any* hypothesis, that places its date lower than the age of the Jewish lawgiver.

Now, if to these considerations be added the characters of antiquity attached to the subject, the conduct, and the language of the work; some of which have already appeared in the discussion of the foregoing objections, and which are in general so strikingly obvious, as to constrain even those who contend for the late production of the work to represent it as written in imitation of early manners;—if we admit with Peters (*Crit. Diss.* p. 143.), that there are expressions in this book, of a stamp so ancient, that they are not to be met with in the Chaldee, Syriac, or any other language at present known; and that many, which rarely occur elsewhere, and are difficult to be explained, are here to be found in their primitive and most simple forms; —if, in short, there be, on the whole, that genuine air of the antique, which those distinguished scholars, Schultens, Lowth, and Michaelis, affirm* in every respect to pervade the work, we can scarcely hesitate to pronounce with Lowth and Sherlock, that the book of Job is the

* See *Grey's Schult. Job.* præf. p. xii.—*Præl. Hebr.* p. 310. and *Mich. Not. et Epim.* p. 195.

oldest in the world now extant. (*Præl. Hebr.* and *Use of Proph.* Diss. ii. p. 206.) Taylor draws the same conclusion from a very satisfactory though brief view of the merits of the entire argument, in the 22d ch. of his *Scheme of Scrip. Div.*, which I would particularly recommend to the perusal of the reader. It deserves also to be noticed, that a writer* in the *Theol. Rep.* vol. i. p. 73., who is by no means a friend to the idea of the antiquity of the book of Job, is compelled by the decided marks of the remote and primitive state of the Hebrew, every where discoverable in the work, to pronounce the author to have been a person of great "ability and address; who was master of *the old language*, and had given a venerable antique air to his poem, by making the persons of his dialogue, supposed to have lived in *very early times*, speak the language which was spoken in their days." Whether there was any person of *such ability and address*, it is for this writer to decide. With his admission I am content.

After what has been said, we can have but little difficulty with the systems of Grotius, Warburton, Heath, and others, who suppose the work written at a late period of the Jewish history, for the consolation either of the Edomites when carried away by the Babylonians (which

* This writer appears to be Mr. Scott, the author of the translation of Job into English verse: the paper in the *Theol. Rep.* being printed as his in an appendix to that translation.

was the notion of Grotius), or of the Jews in circumstances of similar distress, *after* or *under* the captivity: the former of which was Warburton's, and the latter Garnet's idea. What has been said of the style, and other peculiarities of the book of Job, necessarily subverts all such theories. And to bring down this sublime poem to the age of the Babylonish captivity, especially to the period succeeding it, would be, as Lowth observes, little different from the error of Hardouin, who ascribed the golden verses of Virgil, Horace, &c. to the *iron age* of monkish pedantry and ignorance. (*Lect.* &c. ed. Greg. vol. ii. p. 355.) Besides, all these theories are utterly inconsistent with the existence of the book of Job before the time of Ezekiel; a fact which Grotius inferred, and which, notwithstanding Warburton's denial of the consequence, Peters has shown *must* be inferred from the mention of Job by that prophet.* The supposition, then, that Ezra, Ezekiel, or, indeed, any person subsequent to the age of Moses, was the writer of this book, must, for the reasons that have been assigned, be entirely rejected. It remains, of course, only to inquire, whether it is to be ascribed to Moses, or was written before his time. In either supposition, the antiquity, both of the history and of the book, is sufficiently established, for the purpose of my argument concerning sacrifice;

* See *Div. Leg* B. vi. § 2. vol. ii. p. 490., and *Crit. Diss.* p. 145—150.

but, on a subject so interesting, we are naturally impelled to look on to the end.

That Moses was the author of the book has been the opinion of many, both Jews and Christians. But the arguments which have been used to prove that the writer could not be later than the giving of the law, or the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, will equally prove, that, if the book was the production of Moses, he must have written it before the Exodus. Accordingly, Huet, Michaelis, and Kennicott, who attribute the work to him, have placed it at that early period, and thereby in a good measure escape the force of Bishop Lowth's objection, derived from the want of that allusion to the customs, ceremonies, or history of the Israelites, which he thinks must have appeared, had Moses written the book with a view to the consolation of his people at any time after the promulgation of the law. Michaelis says, that it was probably written by him, to console the Israelites under their Egyptian slavery. (*Not. et Epim.* pp. 181, 182.) And Kennicott thinks, that Moses, having lived a long time in Midian, and on the borders of Idumæa, may well be supposed the author, having there learned the story of Job's fortunes, which was probably then recent; and that thus also may the Arabic forms of expression, which occur in the work, be easily accounted for. *Remarks*, &c. p. 152.

These writers have followed the notion of

Huet, and of several of the most ancient Jewish and Christian authors, whom he enumerates. (See *Dem. Evang.* p. 226.) To this opinion, however, it has been objected by Dupin, that "the style of Job is figuratively poetical, and obscure, entirely different from that of the Pentateuch:" and Bishop Lowth, whose judgment with respect to style will scarcely be questioned, does not hesitate to pronounce the style of Job to be materially different from that of Moses, even in his poetic productions; and describes it to be of that compact and sententious kind, which is to be observed in the prophecies of Balaam the Mesopotamian. (*Præl. Hebr.* xxxii.) Michaelis also admits the force of this criticism, by seeking to account for the dissimilitude, from the supposition that the book of Job was written by Moses at a very early period of life. (*Not. et Epim.* p. 186.) But although a youthful imagination might sufficiently account for a higher degree of poetic imagery and embellishment, yet it seems a strange reason to assign for a more "compact, condensed style, and a greater accuracy in the poetical conformation of the sentences," which is the character attributed to it by Lowth, as distinguishing it from the Pentateuch.

Kennicott, however, it must be confessed, differs from the bishop so far as to affirm, that there is a striking resemblance in the construction of the poetry of Job to the song of Moses

in Deut. xxxi. (*Remarks*, &c. p. 153.) But even admitting his discernment of the graces and characteristics of style to be equal to that of the elegant composer of the Lectures on the Hebrew poetry, and the sublime translator of Isaiah, yet still it remains to be inquired, whence were derived those expressions of Syriac and Arabic origin, which are not to be discovered in the Pentateuch? If it be said, as Father Simon has expressly alleged (*Crit. des Proleg. de Dup.* lib. v. p. 514.), and as is hinted also by Kennicott, that Moses might have learned these dialects whilst in the land of Midian, it then remains to be explained, how he came to unlearn them again, before he wrote the Pentateuch. As to one particular sameness of expression, which Kennicott thinks he discovers in the Pentateuch and Job, namely, the frequent use of the *future* for the *preterite*; if this were indeed a peculiarity confined to these* two parts

* The learned critic has been obliged to confess, on subsequent consideration, that the conversion of the *future* into the *preterite* by the ו prefixed, is not strictly confined to the Pentateuch and the book of Job; and he himself adduces instances of a similar usage from *Judges* and *Isaiah*; and thus, in truth, does away the force of his own observation. He adds, however, in support of his first position, that "this idiom, being *seldom* found elsewhere, and being found *so often*, and within so few verses, both in the *Pentateuch* and *Job*, must certainly add some weight to the opinion that *these books came from the same writer*." (*Remarks*, &c. pp. 153, 154.)

In the criticism here advanced, this distinguished scholar

of the sacred volume, might it not be accounted for, by supposing it to have been the usage of the language in its earliest period, and which, though it did not descend later than the writings of Moses, yet might have been common to that and the preceding ages?

But, even admitting a similarity of style, one great difficulty still hangs upon the hypothesis, that Moses was the author of the book; namely, that as he must have intended it for the Israelites, it is scarcely possible to conceive, that, although relating an Idumæan history, he should

---

has not exercised his usual caution and research. The fact differs most widely from his assertion. For it is certain, as we have been most truly told in a late ingenious publication, that, throughout the *whole* Hebrew Scriptures, the *perfect tense* is most generally expressed by the *converted future*; so that it is clearly the *proper idiom of the language*. And it is with justice added, that this is a peculiarity of a nature so extraordinary as to be highly deserving of attention; because the *regularity* of its changes will bear the strictest examination, whereby may be demonstrated the great grammatical accuracy and propriety of expression that has been observed by *all the writers of the Hebrew Scriptures* for so many years, from *Moses* to *Malachi*. This position is substantiated by a wide range of examples in the *Letter on certain particularities of the Hebrew Syntax*, written by *Mr. Granville Sharp*, whose acute and valuable philological inquiries as well in that and his other Letters on the same subject, as in his investigations of the Greek text, cannot be too highly commended. The labours of this learned layman reflect honour upon himself, and, what he appears to have much more at heart, light and intelligence upon the sacred text. — Lowth in his *Lectures*, vol. i. p. 336—345., has treated of the above peculiarity of the Hebrew tenses.

not have introduced something referring to the peculiar state and circumstances of the people, for whose use it was destined; of which no trace whatever appears in the work. The common subjects touched upon in both, too, we should expect to find similarly handled; and yet, if Peters's remark be just, the manner in which the Creation, the Fall, the Deluge, and other points of ancient history, are treated in the book of Job, is widely different from that in which they are spoken of in the books of Moses. See *Crit. Diss.* p. 126.

There seems, then, upon the whole, sufficient ground for the conclusion, that this book was not the production of Moses, but of some earlier age: and there appears no good reason to suppose, that it was not written by Job himself. Lowth favours this idea, and Peters urges some arguments, of no inconsiderable weight, in its support. (*Crit. Diss.* p. 123—125.) The objections against it, from Arabia being called THE EAST, (which, according to Grotius and Le Clerc, marks the writer to be a Hebrew,) and from the account given of the death of Job in the conclusion, create no difficulty. Peters has shown, that not only did other nations, beside the Hebrews, call Arabia, *the East*; but that it was customary even with the Arabians themselves: and that the writer was an Arabian, he infers, with much ingenuity, from the manner in which he speaks of the North wind. As for the addition of a few

66989

lines at the conclusion, made by some other hand, for the purpose of completing the history; this should no more invalidate Job's title to the work, than a similar addition at the conclusion of Deuteronomy, should invalidate that of Moses to the Pentateuch. See *Crit. Diss.* pp. 127, 128. and pref. p. xvi.

But, whether we suppose Job the author of the book or not; its great antiquity, and even its priority to the age of Moses, seems to stand on strong grounds. And, upon the whole, perhaps we may not unreasonably conjecture the history of the book to be this.—The poem, being originally written either by Job, or some contemporary of his, and existing in the time of Moses, might fall into his hands, whilst residing in the land of Midian, or afterwards when in the neighbourhood of Idumæa; and might naturally be made use of by him, to represent to the Hebrews, either whilst repining under their Egyptian bondage, or murmuring at their long wanderings in the wilderness, the great duty of *submission to the will of God.* The encouragement which this book holds out, that every good man suffering patiently will finally be rewarded, rendered it a work peculiarly calculated to minister mingled comfort and rebuke to the distressed and discontented Israelites, and might therefore well have been employed by Moses for this purpose. We may also suppose, that Moses, in transcribing, might have made some small and

unimportant alterations, which will sufficiently account for *occasional* and *partial* resemblances of expression between it and the Pentateuch, if any such there be.

This hypothesis both furnishes a reasonable compromise between the opinions of the great critics who are divided upon the point of Moses being the author, and supplies an answer to a question of no small difficulty, which hangs upon almost every other solution; namely, when, and wherefore, a book treating manifestly of the concerns of a stranger, and in no way connected with their affairs, was received by the Jews into their sacred canon? For Moses having thus applied the book to their use, and sanctioned it by his authority, it would naturally have been enrolled among their sacred writings: and, from the antiquity of that enrolment, no record would, consequently, appear of its introduction. This hypothesis satisfies the third query in the *Theol. Repos.* vol. i. p. 72. I have the satisfaction also to find, that this notion is not without support from many respectable authorities. The ancient commentator on Job, under the title of Origen, has handed down a piece of traditional history, which perfectly accords with it. See *Patrick's Preface to Job.* Many of the most respectable early writers seem to have adopted the same idea, as may be seen in Huet (*Dem. Evang.* p. 226.), and, with some slight variation, it has been followed by that learned author. Patrick also and

Peters speak of it as a reasonable hypothesis. (*Crit. Diss.* pref. pp. xxxiv. xxxv.) And certainly it possesses this decided advantage, that it *solves all the phenomena.*

One observation more remains to be offered; and that is, that there is good reason to pronounce the book of Job an inspired work. Its reception into the Jewish canon; the recognition of the history, and, as Peters has abundantly proved (*Crit. Diss.* pp. 21. 145—148.), consequently of the book itself, by the prophet Ezekiel; a similar admission of it by another inspired writer, St. James; and the express reference made to it by St. Paul (1 Cor. iii. 19.), who prefaces his quotation from it by the words, *it is written*, agreeably to the common form of quoting from other parts of inspired Scripture;—all these fully justify the primitive fathers, and early councils, in their reception of it as a canonical and inspired book. (See *Gregor. pref. in Job.*)

The intrinsic matter of the work also strengthens this idea. Job appears, from xxxviii. 1., and xlii. 5., to have enjoyed the divine vision. In what manner, whether, as the Seventy seem to think, by some appearance of a glorious cloud, or otherwise, it avails not. That, in some way, he was honoured with one of those extraordinary manifestations of the Deity, by which the prophets and inspired persons were distinguished, and that he was admitted to immediate communication with the Almighty, is positively asserted.

Now, if this did really happen,—and the whole book becomes a lying fable, and a lying fable recognised by inspired writers as a truth, if it did not,—it necessarily follows, that Job was a prophet: and as a natural consequence it must be admitted, that Job himself was the author of the work: since it cannot be supposed, that God would convey supernatural communications to one person, and appoint another to relate them. That Job was not an Israelite, cannot be urged as an argument against such an hypothesis, since we find that Balaam is expressly said to have been similarly favoured. Other instances also are given by Bishop Law in his *Considerations*, &c. p. 72—76. See also *Patrick's Append. to the Paraph. on Job*, and *Peters's Crit. Diss.* p. 123—125.

Now, from admitting the prophetic character of Job, we derive two considerable advantages. First, it removes the difficulty, which otherwise must hang upon the supposition, that the words of that much celebrated passage in his writings refer to the doctrines of a redeemer and a future state*: and, 2. it supplies an additional confirmation of the divine origin of those great truths

* In addition to the numerous writers, who are commonly known to have maintained the application of the 19th chapter of Job to the doctrine of a future state, I think it right to mention the name of *Velthusen*, who, in his *Exercitationes Criticæ in Jobi*, cap. xix. 23—29., has with much ability and critical acumen defended this idea. See also *Pfeiffer, Dubia Vexata*, 505—511.

concerning the Creation, the Fall, and the Deluge, as they stand recorded in the books of Moses.

If I have dwelt rather long upon this point, I trust that the interesting nature of the subject, as well as the importance of the *reality* and *antiquity* of Job, in an examination of the history of sacrifice, will supply a sufficient excuse. I have little fear that the discussion will appear unnecessarily prolix to those who are acquainted with the vast variety of opinions, and multiplicity of arguments, to which this question has given birth. My principal object in this, as in most other of the dissertations in this work, has been to combine with such illustrations as the general argument may require, useful directions to the young student in divinity, as to those leading topics and references, that may serve to assist his course of reading. This I have done on the present occasion with all possible brevity. A greater degree of compression must have led to dryness and obscurity. It will be well, if, even in its present form, this review of the question be not found chargeable with these defects.

After the full detail which has just been given of the various opinions respecting the age and country of Job, as well as the date of the poem

which bears that name, I might, perhaps, deem myself excused from making any additional remarks upon this subject, even in the face of a translation of that poem, which has lately come before the public, accompanied with observations repugnant to the resulting probabilities as they have been here deduced, but not less repugnant (as I conceive) to the truth of Scripture history and the principles of fair interpretation. These observations, however, coming from a prelate of the Established Church, acquire from that circumstance a weight, which will not permit them to be overlooked; and compel a discussion, in which I feel myself bound (however reluctantly) to engage, in defence of what I have already submitted, and of what appears to me to be equally sustained by argument, and sanctioned by Scripture. That I may not do the Right Reverend author injustice, I quote the very words, in which he has so summarily beaten down the notions hitherto so generally entertained, concerning the antiquity both of the book and of the age of Job.

"The sacred writers, in general, have been apt to ascribe to the book of Job, an origin, that loses itself in the shades of the remotest antiquity. The opinion, I believe, rested at first on the very sandy foundation of what is stated in the two concluding verses of the work, which ascribe to its hero a longevity that belonged only to the generations not far distant from the flood.

Of the authenticity of those verses, I think, I have shown in my note on them, that we have every reason to be suspicious. But, if it were ever so difficult to ascertain the portion of time when the Patriarch lived, it may not be impossible, from the internal marks in the poem itself, to conjecture with tolerable certainty the era of its author. This is what I have attempted to execute. The subject is curious, and, on a close inspection of the work before us, certain notes of time have presented themselves to my observation, which appear to have escaped the diligence of all preceding critics. The reader will allow me to offer them to him here in a summary manner; referring him for further satisfaction on the point to what I have said in the notes. — Allusions to events recorded in the five books of Moses are to be found in this poem, ch. xx. 20. compared with Num. xi. 33, 34.; ch. xxvi. 5. compared with Gen. vi. 4, 7, 11.; ch. xxxiv. 20. compared with Exod. xii. 19.; ch. xxxi. 33. compared with Gen. iii. 8. 12.: and I shall hardly be expected to prove, that the author of the poem derived his knowledge of those events from a history of so much notoriety as that of Moses, rather than from oral or any other tradition. Facts are not usually referred to, before the history recording them has had time to obtain currency. The inference is clear: the writer of Job was junior to the Jewish legislator, and junior, it is likely, by some time. — A

similar mode of reasoning, upon comparison of ch. xxxiii. 23. with 2 Sam. xxiv. 16., 1 Chron. xxi. 15., will, if I mistake not greatly, bring down the date of our poem below the time of King DAVID. — Lastly, ch. xii. 17., to the end, seems to point to the circumstances preceding and attending the Babylonish captivity; and chap. xxxvi. 8—12. has an appearance of alluding to the various fortunes of JEHOIACHIN, king of Judah, 2 Kings, xxiv. 12.; xxv. 27. — Notes of time these, which, though not so manifest as the fore-mentioned, may deserve attention; since they add strength to the sentiment of those learned men who have been inclined to give the honour of this celebrated composition to Ezra." — *The Book of Job newly translated by the Right Reverend Joseph Stock, Bishop of Killalla*, pref. pp. v. vi.

Such is the rapid decision of the Right Rev. translator, upon a question which has occupied the attention, and divided the judgments, of the most learned and able theologians; and such are the new lights, whereby this new expositor of the book of Job is enabled to discern the erroneousness of the opinion in favour of its high antiquity, which has at all times most generally prevailed. It must be remarked, indeed, that his Lordship, in the history of his work, has stated, that the whole was executed in a period of six weeks, and that too a period of great agitation and distraction of mind; and also, that he declined the aid of the

many learned commentators, who had gone before him in the translation of this most difficult book, confining his attention to three English writers, Heath, Scott, and Parkhurst; writers, who, however respectably they may rank as compilers, cannot be named with those great and distinguished Hebrew scholars*, whose labours his

* It was particularly unfortunate, that his Lordship felt indisposed to the trouble of consulting the commentary of *Schultens*: a work, which, although its author is rather slightingly described by his Lordship as the "*Dutch* expositor," has been considered by all the later interpreters of Job, his Lordship excepted, as a mine of the most valuable learning, and particularly indispensable to such as were not acquainted with the Arabic, and what may be called the dialects of the Hebrew, in which it is acknowledged by every commentator that the book of Job abounds, and from which indeed the peculiar difficulty of that book is admitted to arise. Dr. *Grey*, in his preface, speaking of this work, terms it "*egregium opus.*" And of the benefit he derived from it in his translation of Job, he thus expresses himself: — "Quantum mihi gaudium attulerit, quantâque curâ et molestiâ liberarit elaboratissimum hocce summi viri eruditionis atque diligentiæ monumentum, facile dijudicare est. Parata, ut ait Plinius, inquisitio, nec onerosa collatio. Nempe omni isto apparatu illico jam instructus eram, quem alioquin mihi multo cum sudore undecunque conquirendum esse prævideram: unoque sub conspectu habui non tantum quicquid uspiam a doctissimis viris in hoc argumento concinnatum, sed et ordine ita accurato dispositum, eo judicio atque diligentia perpensum, ut nil aliud mihi negotii jam relictum videretur, quam exscriptoris munere perfungi." — *Liber Jobi — Ricard. Grey*, præf. p. iii.

Heath also, in his pref. p. xiii., speaks of the work of Schultens in language equally strong, "The use of the dialects in the investigation of the true meaning of the several roots in this" (the Hebrew) "language, was never carried to the height it is at present: till the late very learned ALBERT

Lordship found it convenient to reject. These circumstances will abundantly account for the cursory manner in which his Lordship has treated the subject of the antiquity of the book of Job; for the errors into which he has fallen upon that important point; and also for the general air and character of the translation itself.

And, in the first instance, it is painful to remark, that, in the very first paragraph of the work, his Lordship has confounded two questions, which are altogether distinct; and, from this confusion, has been led (with a licence, which might

---

SCHULTENS, in the beginning of this" (the last) "century, bent his studies this way; and with so great success, that I think it may be truly said in his praise, that his endeavours have contributed more towards the true knowledge of the Hebrew language, than the united labours of all that went before him."

Was this the commentator, from whose "two ponderous volumes," (which, after all, are but two thin quartos,) a translator of the book of Job, who does not profess either to have any acquaintance with the Arabic, should turn away with weariness and disgust? — *Heath* pursues a different course in his version: — "I have drawn (says he) from the dialects all the light my knowledge in them would supply me with: and in this part I acknowledge myself much indebted to the valuable works of the late very learned *Albert Schultens.*" Pref. pag. xv. — Bishop Stock, on the other hand, tells us, that he had "received from SCOTT, as much information with respect to the discoveries of SCHULTENS, the *Dutch* expositor, *as he wished to possess.*" Pref. p. vii. — This surely is in every way an odd declaration. If one were only to ask, how the *quantum sufficit* could be ascertained, without the knowledge of what Schultens's book actually contains, it would be rather difficult to frame an answer.

better befit such expositors as Dr. Geddes, or the Unitarian Society, than a Bishop of the Established Church,) to reject the two last verses of Job, as a spurious addition to the work.

The two questions relate, one to the time at which *Job* actually lived, and the other to the time at which the *book* of Job was written. These, it is obvious, have no necessary connexion; as the history of a person, who lived in the patriarchal age, might be composed even at the present day: and, therefore, these respective dates have, at all times, been made the subjects of separate inquiry. Yet the Bishop begins by telling us, that the reason, which first induced the sacred critics to assign the *book of Job* to an era of remote antiquity, is to be found in the two last verses, which ascribe to *Job himself* a patriarchal longevity; that is, that the critics have pronounced the *book* of Job to be extremely ancient, because that book describes its subject as having lived at a very early period. Now, no critics have reasoned in this manner; nor in truth could any have so reasoned, who deserved the name. Some indeed have pronounced the book to be as ancient as its subject, inasmuch as they conceived it to have been the production of Job himself. But they who do not contend for this, and even those (such as Warburton and Heath*) who have been desi-

* Heath, indeed, specially remarks upon the gross error of not making a due distinction between the times of *Job*, and those of the *author* of the poem: and on the whole he pro-

rous to reduce the date of the book to a very late period of the Jewish state, in consequence of allusions to certain parts of the Jewish history which it appeared to them to contain, have, notwithstanding, found no difficulty in placing the existence of Job in that remote age to which the history assigns it. They have, in short, argued thus:—Job lived at an early period; but we have reason to conclude, that the history which treats of him was composed at a period considerably later. Whereas the present translator argues as if Job could not have lived early, because the history was written late. Or rather, to repeat the charge already made, two ideas totally distinct, the time of Job, and the date of the history, are manifestly confounded. And this confusion, which so inauspiciously prefaces his Lordship's work, unhappily conducts it to its close: for in the concluding note we find the following observ-

---

nounces it as his own opinion, that the author in many parts of his work alludes to facts, which, though undoubtedly posterior to the age of Job, on account of its great remoteness, were yet anterior to his own; and consequently he holds, that no argument can be drawn from such circumstances against the antiquity of the times of Job on the one hand, nor against interpretations suited to the manners and history of the probable age of the author on the other. And, therefore, although he reduces the date of the *author of the Poem* as low as the Bishop of Killalla can desire, he yet conjectures the time of *Job* to have been earlier than the Exodus, and considers the length of life ascribed to him by the two verses with which the Bishop has quarrelled, as one of the proofs of the fact. See *Heath's English Version of Job*, pp. xix. xx. xxiv.

ations: — "These two last verses have every appearance * of being a spurious addition to the

* What the circumstances are, that give to these two verses "*every appearance* of being a spurious addition to the work," his Lordship has not thought proper to mention. What do these verses contain? Simply the following words:— "After this lived Job an hundred and forty years, and saw his sons, and his sons'-sons, even four generations. So Job died, being old and full of days." — Now, if all that is meant be this, that the verses could not have been written by Job himself, this undoubtedly no person will be found disposed to dispute, as it is not pretended that he rose from the grave to finish the book. But this surely cannot be the *proof* of their want of authenticity, which, in the beginning of his preface, his Lordship boasts of having discovered, and promises to produce in his note upon the verses: and, in point of fact, he does not here adduce it as a proof; but simply *asserts*, as we have seen, that the "verses have *every appearance* of being a spurious addition to the work." He goes on, indeed, to state of this addition, that it has been "fabricated by such another dealer in the marvellous, as he that has fastened his long string of fables to the close of the translation by the LXX interpreters." — Now, with great deference to his Lordship, there is not only no appearance of these verses being such a fabrication as that which winds up the conclusion of the Septuagint translation, (and his Lordship might have added, of the Syriac and Arabic also,) but there is as direct and proper evidence of the contrary as the nature of the case will admit. The difference between the two is precisely this, that the one is found in *every* MS. of the original Hebrew, and the other has nothing corresponding to it in *any*: that the one has, in *all* ages, been received without question as part of the canon of Scripture, and the other *never*: that the one, in short, *is* found in the record, and the other is *not*. Such is the *similarity of appearance* between the two, from which his Lordship infers them on the view to be equally fabrications! Surely never was there a more arbitrary and barefaced attack upon the integrity of the Sacred Text. The verses have never been questioned; they appear in every MS. of the Hebrew; and they stand precisely on the

work, fabricated by such another dealer in the marvellous, as he that has fastened his long string

---

same ground, as to every circumstance of genuineness, with any other verses in the entire book of Job. It must be observed, that what is said here is perfectly admissible, even on the supposition, that Job himself was the author of the poem: the argument not requiring that the two concluding verses should have been written by the same hand that composed the remainder of the work; but that they were, equally with any other verses, genuine parts of the book as it was originally received into the Hebrew canon, and not the unauthorized and spurious addition of an unknown fabricator. That the verses in question were written by Moses, at the time when the entire work was adapted by him and accommodated to the uses of his followers, may appear not improbable from what has been said at page 102. of this volume.

But, perhaps, after all, no other proof of the spuriousness of these two verses has been intended by the Right Reverend Author, than what arises from those allusions to facts later than the time of Moses, and even of David, to which his Lordship immediately after adverts. If this be the case, then in addition to the confounding together the times of Job and of the author of the Book, which has been remarked upon above, his Lordship has conducted the entire of his reasoning in a circle: having promised, in his preface, to overturn the notion of the high antiquity of the book of Job, by establishing the spuriousness of these two verses, on which he states that notion to have been founded; and having here established the spuriousness of the verses, by denying the antiquity of the book. Whatever may be the errors in the argument, his Lordship however seems to think, that all will be set to rights, by rejecting from the Sacred Text whatever does not correspond with the theory which he has adopted.

As the discussion of this subject has led to the mention of the addition made by the LXX, at the conclusion of their version of the book of Job, it may gratify the curiosity of the reader who is not conversant in these matters, to know what that addition is. Having, agreeably to the Hebrew original,

of fables to the close of the translation by the LXX interpreters. *The fallacy must be obvious,*

stated that Job died full of days, the Greek proceeds, "But it is written that he will rise again with those whom the Lord raises up.—This is interpreted from a Syriac book. 'He dwelt in the land of Ausitis' (of Aus or Uz), 'in the borders of Idumæa and Arabia; but his name was first called Jobab: and, marrying an Arabian wife, he begot a son, whose name was Ennon; and he was himself the son of Zare, a grandson of Esau, of a mother Bosorra, so that he was the fifth from Abraham. And these are the kings which reigned in Edom, over which country he ruled; first, Balak son of Beor, and the name of his city was Dennaba; but after Balak Jobab, called Job; but after him Asom prince of the land of Theman; and after him Adad, son of Barad, who smote Midian in the plain of Moab, and the name of his city was Gethiam. And the friends who came to him, were Eliphaz of the sons of Esau, king of the Themanites; Baldad, sovereign (τύραννος) of the Sauchæans; and Zophar, king of the Minæans.'"—With this the Syriac and Arabic, as given in the Polyglot, nearly correspond. And a fragment of Aristæas, as taken from Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* lib. ix. cap. xxv. tom. i. p. 430), contains most of these particulars, referring to *Polyhistor* as his authority. On the passage in the Greek it is to be remarked, that it contains internal evidence, that the book of Job has not had the same Greek interpreters, that have rendered the other books of the Old Testament; since it expressly states, that the version was derived from a Syriac book. And, indeed, it is clear upon inspection, that the Greek interpreters of Job have taken uncommon liberties in their translation; having, besides variations from the obvious sense of the Hebrew as it now stands, made large additions, not only here but in several other places, particularly at ch. ii. 9, to the speech made by Job's wife. See also ch. xix. 4, xxxvi. 28., xxxix. 34.—It is to be noted also, that the concluding addition to Job in the Greek is given differently by the Vatican and the Alexandrian MSS.; that it is found in Theodotion, but not in Aquila or Symmachus; and that in the Complutensian

when we call to mind the allusions, in the poem, to facts that happened in and after the time of Moses, who lived but one hundred and twenty years, and even of David, when the age of man was reduced to its present standard of seventy years."

Thus then it appears, that because the translator thinks proper to bring the date of the book of Job lower than the time of David, the length of the life of Job could not exceed what was usual in that age of the world, and therefore the two verses which ascribe to him a longer period cannot be genuine, and must be discarded from the sacred text. That is, in other words, no history can ever be written of any individual who lived at a preceding period. This is certainly an unhappy specimen of antiquarian research; and a still more unhappy specimen of biblical criticism. On the same ground, on which he has rejected the two concluding verses, the Right Reverend critic might reject a very large portion of the book of Job, as a spurious addition to the genuine work: since every where throughout are

edition of the LXX it is wanting. It is said also to have been in the old Italic. At what time it was introduced cannot be conjectured; but the Greek version of Job appears to have been earlier than Philo Judæus, from his quoting it in his book *De Nominum Mutatione*. See *Wesley, Dissert.* LIII. p. 409—413., and p. 599.—*Hod. de Vers. Græc.* p. 196.; also *Drusius* and *Codurcus* on the last verse of Job, and *Carpzov's Defence*, p. 36, &c. For the sources, whence this piece of adscititious history was probably derived, the reader may turn to Gen. xxxvi. and 1 Chron. i.

plentifully scattered those indications * of patriarchal antiquity, for the direct exposition of which these two last verses are pronounced to be surreptitious.

But, not to dwell any longer on this unfortunate mistake, and the rash attempt at mutilating the sacred text which it has occasioned, let us proceed to consider those notes of time, attaching to the poem itself, which "have escaped the diligence of all preceding critics;" and by the discovery of which, his Lordship thinks himself enabled to pronounce upon the lateness of its production.

The first of these is said to be found in ch. xx. 20., in which we are told that the true rendering is, "Because he acknowledged not *the quail* in his stomach:" and the following remark is subjoined. — "Here I apprehend is a fresh example of the known usage of the Hebrew poets, in adorning their compositions by allusions to facts in the history of their own people. *It has escaped all the interpreters;* and it is the more important, because it *fixes* the date of this poem so far as to *prove* its having been composed subsequently to the transgression of Israel at Kibroth-hataavah, recorded in Numb. xi. 33, 34. — Because the wicked acknowledged not *the quail*, that is, the meat with which God had filled his stomach, but, like the ungrateful Israelites, *crammed and blasphemed his feeder* (as Milton finely expresseth it),

* See pp. 79, 80. 94, 95. of this volume for the proof and general admission of this point.

he shall experience the same punishment with them, and be cut off בחמודו, *in the midst of his enjoyment*, as Moses tells us the people were המתאוים, *who lusted.*"

The Bishop has rightly said, that the translation, which he has here given, "has escaped all the interpreters:" at the same time, as he has himself informed us that his acquaintance with the interpreters of this book has been studiously contracted to a very narrow range, it remains to be explained how his Lordship came to ascertain this fact. True, however, it is, that none of the commentators on Job, either ancient or modern, had ever proposed such a version of the passage. Yet possibly, from this circumstance, an inference, differing widely from that which the translator would approve, might suggest itself to the reader.

But, what are the grounds, on which this unexampled signification of the passage has been adopted by the R. R. translator? There is but one pretended; namely, that the word שלו, which occurs in this place, has been rendered *quail* in the book of Numbers. When this has been stated, the only reason that can be assigned for this translation has been given. The phrase itself, as it is here proposed, receives no justification from any parallel passage or similarity of expression, throughout the entire body of the Scriptures. No proverbial form, such as, "*not acknowledging the quail*," has ever been heard of

as in use amongst the Jews: and, even though there had been such a phrase derived from the translation recorded in the book of Numbers, it would have been peculiarly inapplicable here, where the food, with which the wicked oppressor is said to gorge himself, is not the gift of God, like the quails showered down for the Israelites, but, on the contrary, the fruit of his own fraud and violence. Besides, the phrase itself is as inconsistent with the history in Numbers, as it is inapplicable to the reasoning in Job. For we do not find that the Israelites were cut off because of their *not acknowledging the quail*, (by which, if it has any meaning, must be understood, their not receiving that food as a gift sent from God, — and in this sense it is that the Bishop has actually applied it,) but because, as both Moses and the Psalmist (Ps. lxxviii.) inform us, they had, antecedently to the grant of the quails, wantonly lusted * for food different from that which God had already allotted to them, and were desirous, from their want of confidence in God's power to give them *flesh* for food, to return to the flesh-pots of Egypt. For these reasons it was, that punishment was inflicted; and inflicted too (so far from having been *caused*

* The very name of *Kibroth-hataavah* was given to the place, to mark the nature of the crime: the signification of these words being *sepulchra concupiscentiæ*, because there they buried the people that lusted. Numb. xi. 31. See on this particularly *Bochart*, vol. iii. pp. 92. 108, 109.

by their *not acknowledging the quail*, before the food was actually swallowed; whilst, as we are told, "it was yet between the teeth and not yet chewed." See Numb. xi. 33.

To the new version, then, here recommended, there lie these three objections: 1. That we find no instance of the phrase which it introduces, throughout the Hebrew Scriptures, nor amongst the traditions of the Jews. 2. That such a phrase could not have grown out of the transaction to which it is traced: and, 3. That, if it could, it would be totally inapplicable to the passage in question. With how little reason, upon the whole, the Bishop has departed from the commonly received sense of the text, which requires the word to be rendered in the sense of *quietness**, there needs but a slight inspection of the

* The word שלו, which Bishop Stock here renders *quail*, is, as has been noticed above, so employed in speaking of the food miraculously afforded to the Israelites at *Kibroth-hattâavah*, and occurs in that sense in four places, namely, in Exod. xvi. 13, Numb. xi. 31, 32., and Ps. cv. 40. In the various other parts of Scripture, in which the word is to be found, it is used in the sense of *quiet and tranquil enjoyment*: and from this, as its radical meaning, even its application to the bird above named is commonly explained; inasmuch as quails are conceived to be a species of birds, that seek quiet and undisturbed enjoyment in the fields of corn, where they conceal themselves in great numbers, and if allowed to enjoy rest, fatten prodigiously. See *Kircher's Concordance* and *Parkhurst* on the word. Abbé *Pluche* tells us, in his *Histoire du Ciel*, tom. i. p. 247, that the quail was, amongst the ancient Egyptians, the emblem of *peace* and *security*: and *Hasselquist* and *Bochart* both inform

original to discover. And with how much less reason he has pretended to find in the version

---

us, that they come into Egypt in great multitudes, in the spring, at the ripening of the wheat. *Bochart*, the whole of whose observations upon the nature and history of this bird are extremely curious, derives the name from שלה, *paçare, vivere*, and thence *abundare*. They, however, who may wish to see the various meanings of the word שלו accurately detailed, and carefully deduced from the primary sense of the root שלה, will be rewarded by an examination of *Schultens*'s discussion of the signification of the term, in his *Origines Hebrææ*, tom. ii. p. 52—76. The true meaning of this root is the more important, as from it is supposed by some to be derived the Hebrew word *Shilo*, denoting the Messiah, in the well known prophecy of Jacob.

Of the various translations which have been given of this verse in Job, perhaps that of Dathe conveys the best sense:—

"Quia venter ejus expleri non poterat,
Nec quidquam cupiditatibus suis evasit."

Schnurrer, also, has in a like sense rendered this verse, (and,—with the one which immediately precedes, and the one which immediately follows it, all of which have occasioned much perplexity amongst the commentators,—extremely well):—

"Quoniam haud sensit quietem in ventre suo,
Et nihil eorum, quæ appetiit, passus est evadere."

See *Schnurrer's Dissertationes Philologico Criticæ*, p. 256. The same sense has been given by the Vulgate.

The rendering of the Greek is a striking instance of the liberty, which that Version has so frequently taken with this book. Οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ σωτηρία τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν, is the translation of the first clause. I know not well how to account for this rendering, unless by supposing that the Greek Interpreters, instead of בבטנו, read in their MS. בביתנו: for it is remarkable, that the word בטן, which they here render τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, they have in the 15th verse rendered οἰκία: now, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα and ὅσα ὑπάρχει they have occasionally used, as well as οἶκος, for בית; as see Gen. xlv. 18. Esth. viii. 1. 7.; and in Esth.

which he has substituted, a *proof* (as he is pleased to call it), that the book of Job was composed subsequently to the transaction at *Kibroth-hataavah*, will probably, after what has been said, appear no less clear.

The next passage to which the Bishop refers us for a mark of time, is ch. xxvi. 5., which he thus translates:—

"The mighty dead are pierced through;
The waters from beneath, and their inhabitants."*

---

vii. 8. they translate בית by οἶκος: therefore it seems not unreasonable to suppose, that they have read the word בית here; that is, th for t, and a י inserted.

It is to be remarked, however, that, amongst the various meanings ascribed to the passage by commentators, there is not one that gives the smallest countenance to the rendering of the word שלו proposed by the Bishop, and on which the whole force of his argument concerning the date of the book depends (even the pointing of the Masora opposes him): nor is there one that gives to that word any other sense than that of *quietness, safety, abundance, enjoyment*, all of which spring from the same primary idea; the Syriac only (with its copy the Arabic) excepted; which renders the word by ܕܝܢܐ signifying *his judgment, his condemnation*, or *his punishment*: see *Schaaf's Lex. Syr.* And how to reconcile any of these senses to the original שלו, I confess myself totally at a loss.

* May it be permitted, *in transitu*, to ask, what possible meaning can be assigned to these two lines? Is it, that the *waters* are *pierced through*, as well as *the mighty dead*? And do *their inhabitants* mean the *fishes*? And is it meant, that *they* are also *pierced through*? And what is intended by *the waters from beneath*? from beneath *what*?—It should be remarked, that, although in the reference to Scott, which is mentioned above, it seems as if the Bishop had adopted these strange phrases in common with that writer, yet the case is not so; they have nothing in common but the meaning of the word רפאים. The Bishop is original, almost

And on this the only remark he thinks necessary to make, is, that he "agrees with Scott, that רפאים are *the giants*, and wicked inhabitants of the old world, who perished in the Flood, produced by breaking up *the waters from beneath*, or the fountains of the great deep, as Moses calls them, Gen. vii. 11."

Now, admitting, for the sake of argument, that the antediluvian *giants*, who with the wicked inhabitants of the old world were overwhelmed by the Flood, have been here intended by the epithet רפאים, *Rephaim*; there arises from this very circumstance a proof, that the inference which the Bishop would hence deduce, respecting the priority of Moses to the author of this poem, is a false one. For those *giants* of the old world are called by Moses נפלים, *Nephilim*; and in no one instance by the name of *Rephaim*, which is here applied. So that if we really have, in this place, an allusion to those *giants* who lived before the Flood, we must suppose the knowledge of the writer to have been derived from some source different from the writings of Moses; a conclusion, directly the opposite of that which it has been the Bishop's object to

throughout the whole verse, especially in the expression of "*the waters from beneath*;" the Hebrew necessarily requiring (as will appear immediately upon inspection) that the word *beneath*, whether it be construed in connexion with *the waters* or not, must precede: that is, if the two words are to be combined, it must be "*beneath the waters*," just the opposite of his Lordship's collocation.

establish. His Lordship, indeed, tells us, that he expects not to be called upon "to prove, that the author of the poem derived his knowledge of events from a history of so much notoriety as that of Moses, rather than from oral or any other tradition."—But, surely, in facts so notorious as those of the Deluge, and of the existence of those giants and wicked men who preceded it, it cannot be thought too much to demand, that some marked similitude between the accounts given of them by Moses and by any other early writer should be adduced, in proof that either borrowed from the other. At all events, it is clearly too much on the other hand to expect, that this should be conceded, in defiance of a marked dissimilitude, such as has been shown in the present case to exist. And, after all, even were a resemblance discoverable, the question, Which was the earliest writer? would still remain exactly as before.

The Bishop, in truth, on the word *Rephaim*, is altogether at variance with himself. The phrase "mighty dead," which he here uses for *Rephaim*, is the same which (after Bishop Lowth) he has employed in Isaiah xiv. 9., for the same Hebrew word. But the explanation of the term which he has there given, he states to have originated with Rosenmüller, (or rather he should have said with Vitringa, for from him Rosenmüller has taken it,) and is altogether different from that which he has here borrowed from

Scott. His words *there* are:—REPHAIM, *the gigantic spectres.* Ghosts are commonly magnified by vulgar terror to a stature superior to the human. *Rosenm.*"—*Stock's Isaiah*, p. 40.—Thus, then, we find, that *Ghosts*, as such, are magnified by vulgar terror, and may be called *Rephaim.* And so, the appellation, "*mighty dead,*" or *Rephaim*, becomes applicable to *all* the inhabitants of the invisible world. But how then can that, which is represented as a quality of the shades of *all* dead men, namely, gigantic size, or *Rephaism*, be considered in this place as designating the spirits *only of a particular class* of human beings, who, being of *actually* gigantic stature, had lived before the Flood? The two expositions meet, with such adverse fronts, that I despair of being able to reconcile them.—*Non nostrum tantas componere lites.*

It should not be suffered to pass unnoticed, that in the passage of Job, with which we are at present concerned, there occurs, besides the word רְפָאִים *Rephaim*, another term of considerable moment; to the true nature and meaning of which the Right Rev. translator has by no means paid that attention, which the office assumed by him demanded. The term I allude to is *שְׁאוֹל *Sheôl*: a term in whose signification

* It had been well, if the Bishop had attended somewhat more to those learned investigations of the import of this and other difficult terms, which are to be found in Mercer, Schultens, Peters, and the other laborious Commentators,

is involved a question no less important than that of the early belief entertained by the people

whose cautious researches have only excited his disgust. We should then not find that uncertainty of meaning, which at present attaches to his Lordship's translations of the passages in which such terms occur. The word, in particular, which is here referred to, has been rendered by him, in different places, with such variety and such vagueness, as to leave the reader altogether ignorant of the sense which the translator conceives most properly to belong to it. Of eight places in which it occurs in the book of Job, and of ten places in the prophecy of Isaiah, there is not one, in which the Bishop has taken occasion to give a precise idea of its true signification. Sometimes he calls it "the lower region," (Job vii. 9., xiv. 13., xxiv. 19.); at others, "hell," (Job xi. 8., Isai. xiv. 9.); again, "the grave," (Job xvii. 13. 16., xxi. 13., Isai. v. 14., xiv. 11. 15., xxviii. 15. 18., xxxviii. 10. 18.); again, in the present passage, "the lower world;" and again, Isai. lvii. 9., "the lowest pit." Amidst all this variety of application, not a single glance, that I can discover, has been taken at the radical meaning of the word, except in one passing remark, in a criticism, which is of so extraordinary a nature, that I cannot avoid quoting the whole of it, as it stands. —It is a note on Job, xx. 9.—"*Which beamed on him.* יזפרחו. The reader, who shall take the pains to examine the several Hebrew roots commencing with the letter ש, will be apt to think with me, that the original sense of *by far the greatest part of them*, may best be discovered, by divesting them of this same initial letter, which stood in the place of an article or preposition, merely. Thus שמש, *the sun*, I conceive to be *the feeler*, who feeleth after and investigateth all things: שמים, *the heavens*, the place of *waters*, ש-מים, from which rain, or waters, come; שאול, *the place of the insensible*, Sheol or Hades. And thus may the verb before us, שוף, be traced to ופא, *of which we want an example, but it probably signified to* SHINE, *as from it*" (that is, from a non-existing word, observe), is *derived* ופר, PITCH."! Surely, such another perfect specimen of adventurous criticism the

of the East, concerning the existence of the soul after death. With respect to these two import-

---

entire regions of conjecture can scarcely supply. In truth, this is such an exercise of the critical faculty, as, were it indulged in, must render the Hebrew Scriptures a perfect nullity, by fastening on them any sense that any guesser might think proper to affix.

That the prefix ש, as an abbreviation for the relative אשר, is not unprecedented, is well known to Hebrew scholars: but, at the same time, this is acknowledged to be a Chaldaism, which, although it is found in the later books of the O. T. composed about and after the time of the captivity, is denied to have any place in those of earlier production. (See p. 89. of this vol.) What then is to become of all those words beginning with the letter ש, in the several books preceding the captivity, which constitute by much the greater part of the Hebrew Scripture? Are all those words to be interpreted by divesting them of the initial ש, in opposition to the hitherto received opinion, that not more than *two or three* such words at the most are to be found through the entire range of those early writings? Then, indeed, it is time to set about a new translation of the whole body of the Old Testament, since so numerous a class of words have hitherto been altogether misunderstood by every interpreter of Scripture.—What, in truth, is to become of the Hebrew language? The lexicons at present exhibit, as primitives, not fewer than two hundred words commencing with the letter ש. Now to pronounce, that "*by far the greatest part*" of these are compounded, and must be divested of that letter in order to discover their true meaning; leaving it also to the conjecture of the individual to determine which words have the prefix, and which not, is surely neither more nor less than to convert the language into mere babble. One would think it scarcely possible to add to the extravagance of this proceeding; and yet has this not been done in the criticism referred to, when, in one of the compounds thus fancifully made up, it is admitted that one of its components has no place in the language? as in the case of רפד, *to shine*, of which the

ant terms, it fortunately happens, that they stand so combined in one part of Scripture as to

---

Bishop says, "*we want an example;*" and truly says so, there being no such word, in that sense, or in any sense approaching to it, either in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, or in any of the kindred languages, Chaldee, Syriac, or Arabic. But his Lordship adds, that though there *is not*, yet there *ought to be*, such a word, *because* there is such a word as זפת, PITCH. If the reader finds it difficult to give credit to this representation, I refer him to the work itself.—Or, again, is not the extravagance also heightened, though in an inferior degree, when we find in the same criticism, a sense given to one of the components, which does not belong to it? as in the word שאול, which, we are told, properly means *the place of the insensible*, being compounded of ש and אול; the latter word of course signifying *insensible*. Now it is notorious, that the word אול bears, throughout the entire Scripture, no other sense than that of *foolish;* which indeed in the Scripture use also implies *wicked:* a meaning, surely, sufficiently removed from that of *insensible;* and the more markedly so, as, in the primary sense of the word, it signifies not simply *folly*, but an *activity* in folly.

There is, indeed, it should be noticed, a source for certain Hebrew words commencing with ש, very different from that wild and arbitrary one devised by the Bishop. The *Syriac* has a special conjugation, to which *Schultens* and *Michaelis* have given the name of *Schaphel*, from the prefixed ש being its characteristic, as the ה and התה are the characteristics of the conjugations *Hiphil* and *Hithpahel* in the *Hebrew*. This is seldom used by the *Hebrew* in its verbs, but not unfrequently in nouns derived from that conjugation. Here is a legitimate source, and one which in its nature supplies a rule and a limitation.—See on this Syriac form, *Michaelis, Not. et Epim.* p. 195.—also *Mich. Gramm. Syr.* p. 91.—It should be noted that the *Schaphel* of the Germans should be called *Shaphel* with us; the word being derived from the letter ש, which they write *sch*, and we *sh*.

throw light upon each other, and to leave little doubt remaining upon this most interesting ar-

---

There is another instance of the application of the new discovery made by the Bishop, respecting words beginning with שׁ, of a nature so extraordinary, and of which his Lordship has made so extraordinary a use, that I cannot forbear annexing it to this note. On the verb סָפַק in ch. xxxiv. 26. he remarks in the note: "סָפַק or שָׁפַק, from *unfrequent occurrence*, is not well understood; but if, *according to my rule*, we cast off שׁ, we shall come to a *better known verb*, פַּק, *to stagger*, or to tumble." Now, in the first place (to make no remark on the exercise of *fancy* with respect to the שׁ, as that is his Lordship's *rule*), the word, which is described as being from unfrequent occurrence not well understood, is found above a dozen times in the Hebrew Bible, and in such connexion as to have caused to the commentators no doubt about its meaning; for which it also derives additional confirmation from the kindred languages. And on the other hand, the word פַּק, (or as he should have written it, פּוּק,) which his Lordship pronounces to be so much *better known*, occurs only in three places, with the possibility of that sense of *stagger*, in which we are told it is so familiarly understood; and even in those places, the Greek and Latin translators do not concur in giving it that sense: so that, in truth, this word, in the application of it, may be considered as involved in some uncertainty, whilst the one which it is conjured up to supplant is involved in none. — But we have not done with this discovery yet. The true sense of סָפַק or שָׁפַק is made out, *by his Lordship's rule*, to signify *stagger* or *tumble;* and, accordingly, it is so rendered by him, in the passage to which this note has been attached. But then the same word occurs in *four* other places in the book of Job, xx. 22., xvii. 23., xxxiv. 37., xxxvi. 18.: and in the three first of these, the idea of *clapping the hands*, which is the true one, and which the Bishop has rejected in the above criticism, is adopted by him; and in the fourth, the vague sense of *exposure* is introduced: whilst the idea of *stagger*, which his

ticle of oriental theology. If we look to Isaiah xiv. 9., we shall there find, what were the Jewish opinions upon this subject in the days of that prophet. I here subjoin the whole passage, as it is rendered by Bishop *Lowth*.

" Hades (*Sheôl*) from beneath is moved because
of thee to meet thee at thy coming:
He rouseth for thee the mighty dead, (*Rephaim,*)
all the great chiefs of the Earth:
He maketh to rise up from their thrones all the
kings of the nations.
All of them shall accost thee, and shall say unto
thee:
Art thou, even thou too, become weak as we?
Art thou made like unto us?
Is then thy pride brought down to the grave; the
sound of thy sprightly instruments?
Is the vermin become thy couch, and the earth-
worm thy covering?
How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son
of the morning?
Art cut down to the earth, thou that didst subdue
the nations?"

Thus then, in like manner as *Homer*, in his *Odyssey*, sends the souls of the slaughtered wooers to *Hades*, where they meet with the manes of Achilles, Agamemnon, and other heroes; so the

---

Lordship has laboured so much and so unjustifiably to establish as the true and proper sense, is completely forgotten. Surely this is too rambling.

Hebrew poet, in this passage of inimitable grandeur, describes the king of Babylon, when slain and brought to the grave, as entering *Sheôl*, and there meeting the *Rephaim*, or manes of the dead, who had descended thither before him, and who are poetically represented as rising from their seats at his approach. And as, on the one hand, the passage in the Grecian bard has been always held, without any question, to be demonstrative of the existence of a popular belief amongst the Greeks, that there was a place called *Hades*, which was the receptacle for departed souls; so this poetic image of Isaiah must be allowed, upon the other, to indicate in like manner, amongst the Jews, the existence of a popular belief that there was a region for departed souls called *Sheôl*, in which the *Rephaim* or Manes took up their abode.*

* As the above is a point of considerable moment, and vitally connected with a subject which has excited much controversy and great interest, I must add a few more observations upon the meaning of the two remarkable words with which we are here concerned. And, in the first instance, the reader may not be displeased with a compressed statement of what the very learned Vitringa has given at length upon this head. — After admitting, in his remarks on the passage of Isaiah just cited, that the word *Sheôl* may be (though it very rarely is) applied in the sense of *grave* or *sepulchre*, he proceeds to argue, that in this sense it cannot have been employed in the passage under discussion; for that it would be a monstrous abuse of language, to say, that the *grave* stirred up those who were actually dead: and therefore he contends, that the whole passage must be explained, as a poetic fiction, accommodated to the existing

The next passage to which the Bishop has referred us, (see p. 133.) is found in ch. xxxiv.

---

opinions of the day, which he holds to have been these: — That the souls of men, when released from the body by death, pass into a vast subterraneous region, as a common receptacle, but with different mansions, adapted to the different qualities of its inhabitants; and that here, preserving the shades and resemblances of the living, they fill the same characters they did in life. That this entire region was called by the Jews *Sheôl*, by the Greeks *Hades*, and by the Latins *Inferi*. That these were the notions that commonly prevailed amongst the Jews, he conceives to be fully established by various parts of Scripture: and to this, he thinks, the history of the witch of Endor yields confirmation, inasmuch as, let the illusion in that transaction be what it might, it goes to establish the fact of the opinion which was then vulgarly received. — Agreeably to this hypothesis, he contends that various expressions of the patriarchs and prophets are to be explained; and to this purpose he instances Gen. xxxvii. 35., Ps. xvi. 10., xxx. 4., xciv. 17.; in all of which, a place where souls, when freed from the body, were assembled, still preserving all their faculties, — is, as he thinks, plainly supposed.—From the Hebrews he conceives that this opinion passed to other people, and became disfigured by various fictions of their respective invention. Thus the doctrine of the Egyptians respecting *Hades* is given in the second book of Herodotus; where we have the history of Rhampsinitus, who, according to the traditions of the Egyptians, had visited the infernal regions, and returned safe to life. The notion, he says, was variously embellished by the Greek poets; and afterwards, being stripped by Plato of much of its poetic ornaments, was embodied by him in his philosophical system. Hence again the Latins, and the nations at large, derived their phraseology in speaking of the state of the dead; for instances of which phraseology he refers to *Velleius*, *Livy*, *Florus*, and others.

The learned writer then proceeds to the *Rephaim*, who are here described by Isaiah, as raised from their seats by

20., which in our common version stands thus: "In a moment shall they die, and the people

---

Sheôl, on the approach of the King of Babylon; and who must consequently be the *shades* or *manes*, by which *Sheôl* is inhabited.—But wherefore denominated *Rephaim*? By this word, he says, it appears indisputably from Isai. xxvi. 14. compared with this passage, must be meant the souls of the *deceased*. But at the same time, he observes, it appears no less indisputably from Gen. xiv. 5. and Deut. iii. 11., that the same word is employed to designate a people of *gigantic* stature among the Canaanites; and it is accordingly almost every where rendered "*giants*" by the LXX. and Vulgate. How to reconcile these two senses, which appear so very different, has been a difficulty with commentators. But this difficulty, he says, will be removed, if we attend to the notion which has vulgarly prevailed concerning *ghosts* or *manes*; that they appear of a stature greater than human: and hence our author thinks, that the word, which originally denoted the *shades of the departed*, came to be transferred to denote men of a gigantic bulk; and so became finally an appellation for both. — See *Vitringa in Isai.* tom. i. pp. 432, 433.

I find that *Cocceius* explains the application of the term *Rephaim* to the *giants* in Canaan, on the same principle, though not so explicitly, as Vitringa. His words are, "possit videri, eos" (gigantes, scil.) "ita appellatos, quod tanquam *manes* et *spectra* inter homines versarentur." The word itself he derives originally from רָפָה, *resolvere*; or as the LXX. παραλύεσθαι, ἐκλύεσθαι; and its primary meaning he considers to be *resoluti, mortui in pulverem redacti* — hence *manes*. Michaelis has, in a way that appears not equally satisfactory, endeavoured to account for the application of the same term *Rephaim* to *giants* and *ghosts*, on the idea of the dark caverns inhabited by the former. — See *Not. et Epim.* pp. 28, 29.

The very learned and ingenious examination of the terms *Sheôl* and *Rephaim*, by *Peters* (from p. 318. to 382.), merits particular attention. *Sheôl* he distinguishes into two parts, the upper and the lower; in the latter of which he places the residence of the wicked spirits: and to this class he applies

shall be troubled at midnight, and pass away; and the mighty shall be taken away without

---

the term *Rephaim*, as being *giants in impiety*. In this point, however, I apprehend he has carried the matter too far: for the *giants in impiety* to whom he primarily alludes are those monstrous defiers of God's authority, who lived before the Flood, and were overwhelmed by the Almighty for their enormous wickedness: and from these it is, that he transfers the term *Rephaim*, to the shades of all such as had been mighty in violence and crimes. But in doing this, he has fallen into the same error, which I have noticed in Bishop Stock and others; namely, that of supposing *Rephaim* to have been the name of those heaven-defying giants, that lived before the Flood: whereas, as was shown in p. 124., they had no such name; being known only by that of *Nephilim*. Peters, indeed, appears to me also to have followed the clue of interpretation, with respect to the term *Rephaim*, in a wrong direction altogether, by transferring the word from the primary signification of *giants* to the secondary one of *shades*; whereas I have little doubt that it was first the proper appellation of the latter, and thence extended to the former, in the manner suggested by Vitringa. At the same time I agree with *Peters* and with *Schultens*, that the word is sometimes taken in an unfavourable sense, so as to particularize the souls of the wicked. This I think is manifest from Prov. ix. 18., xxi. 16. And I would in the following manner explain the various acceptations of the word, which I have not been able to find has yet been satisfactorily done by any author.

From the verb רָפָה, signifying *resolvere*, I derive, with *Cocceius*, the word רְפָאִים, *resoluti*; which, applied to human beings, denotes that they are *reduced to their first elements by dissolution*. *Rephaim* therefore implies the *deceased*, in that separated condition of the component parts of their nature which is produced by death: and as the bodily part moulders into dust and becomes insensible, it is consequently applied to that active principle, which retains the consciousness, and continues as it were the existence, of the man. *Rephaim*, then, imports men in that state, to which they are

hand."—On this passage his Lordship makes the following observations.—"The sudden death

---

brought, when reduced by dissolution to the simple and essential element, the soul; and thence has been used to signify the *ghosts of the deceased.* These again, being clothed by the imaginations of the living in certain airy shapes, and magnified through terror to gigantic stature, in process of time lent their name to men of great and terrific bulk; and hence the appellation passed to *giants,* and became the denomination of certain classes of that description in Canaan. Again these *Rephaim* of the Canaanites, being distinguished amongst a people who were all odious for their crimes, and as such pronounced to be an abomination to the Lord, the idea of great wickedness, so strongly associated with the name, was by degrees reflected back upon the primitive term; so that *Rephaim,* as applied to the souls of the dead, came at length to imply also specially the souls of the guilty dead. Thus *Rephaim* becomes properly capable of these three senses, *Ghosts, Giants,* and *Ghosts of the Wicked.*

Again, as to the origin of the word שְׁאוֹל *Sheôl,* signifying, as we have seen, the region allotted to the residence of the *Rephaim,* or shades of the departed, it has been best derived from the verb שָׁאַל, *quæsivit, postulavit,* indicating its *insatiable craving:* a character which we find particularly attached to it in several parts of Scripture—see *Isai.* v. 14., *Habak.* ii. 5., *Prov.* xxvii. 20., xxx. 16.—At the same time, I confess, I cannot but think, that there has been overlooked by the Critics a particular acceptation of the word שָׁאַל, which would more adequately convey the true character and nature of *Sheôl.* The verb is known not only to signify, to *demand,* or *crave,* but to *demand,* or *crave* AS A LOAN; and therefore implies that what is sought for is to be *rendered back.* In this view of the case, *Sheôl* is to be understood, not simply as the region of departed spirits, but as the region which is to form their *temporary* residence, and from which they are at some future time to be rendered up; thus indicating an intermediate state of the soul, between its departure from this world, and some future stage of its existence. This parti-

here described, its happening *at midnight*, the trepidation of the people, the removal of the

---

cular acceptation of the word receives countenance in this passage of Job, especially, from the rendering of the LXX and the Chaldee, with which our common version corresponds. The word יתוללו, the former renders by μαιωθήσονται, (from μαία, *obstetrix*,) *shall be brought forth*; and the latter, by a word signifying *regenerabuntur*, *shall be born again*: both evidently explaining the Hebrew word חלל or חול, in reference to the *pains of bringing forth*; and signifying, that the *Rephaim* were to be rendered up from the place of their residence, and as it were born again into some new state of existence. Codurcus also, I find, in his explanation of *Sheôl*, describes the notion entertained of it by the Jews thus; "שאול, purgatorii locum existimant, ex quo redduntur superis animæ, exantlatis quibus erant obnoxiæ pœnis." (*Crit. Sacr.* tom iii. p. 3318.) — *Windet* also mentions, that to the *Sheôl* of the Hebrews, corresponds the *Amenthes* of the Egyptians, which Plutarch, comparing it with the *Hades* of the Greeks, expounds by, τὸν λαμβάνοντα καὶ δίδοντα, in his book of Isis and Osiris. (*De vitâ functorum statu*, p. 24.; also *Peters*, p. 320.) — *Windet* likewise informs us, that the Jews hold *Gehenna*, or the place of perdition, to be the lowest part of *Sheôl*, the general receptacle of departed souls:—and that in order to express the great depth, to which they conceive it to be sunk, they are used to describe it as *beneath the waters*: their idea being, that the waters are placed below the earth, and that the earth floats upon them like a ship. *De vitâ functorum statu*, pp. 242, 243. *Tartarus*, in like manner, he says (p. 245.), the Greeks made the lowest part of *Hades*.

On the Jewish notions of *Sheôl*, compared with the Greek notions of *Hades*, I would refer the reader to the entire of the last-named work; to *Peters's Crit. Diss.* as before noticed; to Bishop *Lowth's Lectures*, vol. i. p. 156—166. (Greg. edit.) and Mr. *Henley*'s note in ditto, p. 213.; to *Mich. Not. et Epim.* pp. 27, 28.; and to Bishop *Horsley's Hosea*, pp. 46. 157—160. 200, 201. He may consult also with advantage the Sermon

strong ones to the other world by *an invisible hand;* what are all these but the circumstances recorded by Moses in Exodus, xii. 29., of the destruction of the first-born of the Egyptians? Pharaoh likewise is the king, to whom God is said just before to have given the title of Belial. We have here of course another *proof,* that the writer of this poem was posterior in time to Moses." *

---

of this last writer, upon Christ's descent into *Sheôl:* and upon the same subject he will find a good discourse by *Johnson of Cranbrook,* in the 2d volume of his Sermons.

Were I now, upon the whole, to offer my own rendering of the passage in Job out of which this long discussion has arisen, I would venture the following:

The souls of the dead tremble;
[The places] below the waters, and their inhabitants.
The seat of spirits is naked before him;
And the region of destruction hath no covering.

Here I take the *souls of the dead,* and the *inhabitants of the places below the* (*abyss of*) *waters,* to bear to each other the same proportion, that is found, in the next verse, to subsist between the *seat of spirits,* and the *region of destruction:* those of the dead who were sunk in the *lowest parts* of Sheôl being placed in the *region of destruction,* or the *Gehenna* of the later Jews. So that the passage, on the whole, conveys this: that nothing is, or can be concealed from the all-seeing eye of God; that the souls of the dead tremble under his view, and the shades of the wicked, sunk to the bottom of the abyss, can even there find no covering from his sight.

* *Heath,* who is extremely anxious to lower the antiquity of the book of Job, has gone before the Bishop, in the notion that the slaughter of the first-born is here alluded to; although his Lordship has mentioned this, as one of the notes of time, which had escaped *all* the commentators. To make the reference appear more probable, that author has rendered the

Now, undoubtedly, if this supplies a *proof* of the point proposed, the matter of demonstration is easier than has been commonly imagined. In

---

word יעברן, in such a manner, as to imply the *passing* on of the destroying angel, as described by Moses. In doing so, he has undoubtedly improved the resemblance to the account of the transaction in Exodus. But to make this point out, he is compelled either to violate grammar, or to pluralize the Angel. These things, however, avail nothing, as the hypothesis *must* be supported. — *Warburton*, with the same resolute determination to modernize Job, discovers, in the passage before us, not only the transaction in Egypt, but also another of a nature entirely different. The words, he says, "*plainly* refer to the destruction of the first-born in Egypt, AND *Sennacherib's army ravaging Judæa.*" — *Div. Leg.* vol. ii. p. 498. — What now becomes of that appropriate term, "*midnight*," which, with the Bishop, singled out the transaction in Egypt from every other; and of that other significant word, יעברן, "*pass through*," which has so completely satisfied Heath, that no other than that transaction could have been intended: — neither of these words being found in the history of the destruction of Sennacherib's army? — *Codurcus* has, with true propriety and good sense, suggested the use which is to be made of the two events alluded to by Warburton; namely, that they are facts, to which the mind is naturally led, as tending to exemplify and confirm the observation on the ways of Providence, which is laid down in this part of Job; and that had these events taken place before the composition of the poem, it would not be unnatural to suppose that the writer had them, with others of the same kind, in his view. These are the reflections of a sober judgment, which, it were much to be wished, was more frequently to be met with in our commentators and translators. I should mention, indeed, that *Holden* and *Scott* have taken the same judicious view of the subject. To prove how wide in its application this passage in Job has been found, I shall add only one instance more of its appropriation. The Chaldee has discovered in it an allusion to *the destruction of Sodom.*

the original passage here referred to, it must be remembered, that the Bishop does not pretend to have discovered any one *expression*, which is to be found in the description of the slaughter of the first-born in Egypt, excepting the single term, "*midnight.*" This almost total diversity of phrase is surely no part of the *proof* that the description in Job is taken from that which was given by Moses. But although there be not an identity of expressions, yet may there not be a general similarity to justify the Bishop's assertion? On the contrary, there is nothing more requisite than his Lordship's own statement of the case to overturn every idea of a reference to Moses's account of the above transaction. For, in the first place, according to that statement, God is here represented as having given to Pharaoh the title of *Belial.**—Now this is a

* His Lordship has here created a difficulty against himself. For, as was stated above, *were* Pharaoh supposed to be in this place intended under the title of *Belial*, this would disprove the Bishop's position that the writer alludes to the history in Exodus. But that Pharaoh *is* intended here, there is not the slightest ground to imagine. In this I will be judged even by the Bishop's own translation:

> "Shall even the hater of justice give laws?
> And wilt thou condemn the eminently just One?
> Who saith unto a king, Thou art Belial!
> Ye are wicked! unto princes:
> Who accepteth not the persons of nobles,
> Neither is the rich man," &c.

Now where is *Pharaoh?* Is it in the word *Belial?* That name was never given to him. But he deserved such a name.

piece of information, with which Moses does not appear to have been acquainted; of which at least he has left behind him no record. Again, as his Lordship reminds us, and with the additional emphasis of Italics, the passage in Job describes those who were taken away, as "*the strong ones.*" Now what does Moses tell us? That, "the Lord smote *all* the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne, unto the first-born of *the captive that was in the dungeon; and all the first-born of the cattle.*"— In other words, he informs us, that the first-born, of both *man and beast*, was indiscriminately destroyed; and this, the Bishop thinks, is significantly conveyed by the phrase *strong ones*, or rather (as our common version more properly reads) the *mighty*. But, again, his Lordship sees plainly in "*the invisible hand,*" (or, as he himself renders it, and as it ought to be rendered, *without*

Why? Is it because *Belial* implies wickedness? and was Pharaoh the only wicked king? We might also demand to be informed who were those *Princes of Pharaoh's court*, who are at the same time denominated *wicked*. In truth the Bishop's argument might on the whole be put thus: Pharaoh, it is true, is not by Moses called Belial, but he *ought* to have been so called by him, and therefore we may consider him as actually *having been* so called.— Again; Pharaoh is not named here, but as the word *Belial* is used, which denotes wickedness, Pharaoh *ought* to have been named, and therefore we may consider him as *having been* actually named. Really this is too extravagant. — N. B. the word בליעל *Belial*, simply signifies *worthless, wicked*, ἀχρεῖος, *nequam*: from בל *non*, and יעל *profuit*.

hand,) a marked proof of the allusion in this part of Job to Moses. To this it may safely be replied, that the proof is as *invisible* as the hand; for nothing corresponding to this phrase is to be found in the language of Moses.

In short, if one were seeking arguments to prove that the writer of the book of Job had *not*, in this place, his eye fixed upon the record of the transaction in Egypt which has been left by Moses, he would naturally select most of those very circumstances on which the Bishop seems so firmly to rely. For it must be remembered, that his Lordship is not content to say, that the writer of the book of Job refers to *facts*, which are related also by Moses; but he contends, particularly, that he must have derived his knowledge of those facts from the very accounts which Moses had given of them in his writings:—facts, he observes, not being usually referred to before the history recording them has had time to obtain currency; and the author of Job being, consequently, indebted to the history of Moses for his knowledge of such facts as have been adverted to by both. See p. 89.

But, in truth, not only is it manifest, that the writer of Job has not, in the passage before us, referred to the *Mosaic account* of the destruction of the first-born in Egypt, but there appears no reasonable ground for supposing that he meant to allude to that transaction at all. This will be best seen by a perusal of the entire passage in

Job, as it is given in the common version, which is here subjoined.*

* "Shall even he that hateth right govern?
And wilt thou condemn him that is most just?
Is it fit to say to a King, *Thou art* wicked?
And to Princes, *Ye are* ungodly?
How much less to him that accepteth not the persons of princes,
Nor regardeth the rich more than the poor?
For they are all the work of his hands.
In a moment shall they die;
And the people shall be troubled at midnight, and pass away,
And the mighty shall be taken away without hand.
For his eyes are upon the ways of man,
And he seeth all his goings.
There is no darkness nor shadow of death,
Where the workers of iniquity may hide themselves.
For he will not lay upon man more *than right;*
That he should enter into judgment with God.
He shall break in pieces mighty men without number,
And set others in their stead.
Therefore he knoweth their works,
And he overturneth them in the night,
So that they are destroyed.
He striketh them as wicked men,
In the open sight of others:
Because they turned back from him,
And would not consider any of his ways.
So that they cause the cry of the poor to come unto him;
And he heareth the cry of the afflicted."

I cannot deny myself the pleasure of introducing, in this place, to the reader's acquaintance a translator of the book of Job, in the person of a young lady; who, adorned with all the accomplishments which distinguish her own sex, devoted herself, at the age of fifteen, to studies the most serious and intense, that are accustomed to occupy the attention of the other: and this, with such surprising success, that although self-taught, and nearly deprived of the benefit of books, she left behind her, at the expiration of her twenty-ninth year, a nu-

Now what is there here, to lead us to *the destruction of the first-born in Egypt?* Surely, if

---

merous collection of writings, so various and so valuable, as may well make many a literary man look back with a blush upon the labours of a lengthened life. — See *Fragments in Prose and Verse, by a young Lady.*

Miss Smith's translation of the book of Job, for which she had qualified herself by a close study of the Arabic and Hebrew, was completed before her twenty-sixth year, two years earlier than the date of the translation by the Bishop of Killalla. It is at this time well known to the public, by a neat edition of the work, which has, since the date of the above observations, been given by Dr. Randolph, who has enhanced its value by a variety of judicious critical observations. I annex this lady's version of the passage above referred to, as it may be to many a matter of curiosity to compare with our received translation any part of so extraordinary a production.

Shall he who hateth right govern?
And wilt thou condemn him, who aboundeth in justice?

Who saith to the King, Thou art unprofitable;
Wicked, to the Nobles:

Who lifteth not up the faces of Princes,
Nor turneth away from the cry of the Poor;
For they are all the work of his hands.

In a moment they shall die;
At midnight the people shall tremble, and pass away,
And the mighty shall be removed without hand.

For his eyes are on the ways of man,
And he seeth all his steps.

There is no darkness, and no shade of death,
To conceal the workers of iniquity.

For on no man hath it yet been put,
To walk with God in judgment.

this were intended, some of the many extraordinary circumstances of so extraordinary a trans-

---

He breaketh the mighty — they cannot be found;
And setteth up others in their stead.

Because he knoweth their works,
They are overturned in the night — they are crushed.

He striketh them like culprits,
In the place of beholders.

Because they turned from behind him,
And would not follow all his ways.

Bringing before him the cry of the poor;
And he heard the cry of the oppressed.

On a comparison with the original, this will be found more faithful, in many parts, than the received version. Particularly, in that very difficult passage in the 18th and 19th verses, in which the latter demands so large an ellipsis, as is found in Italics in the common Bible, our fair translator has, by a close adherence to the original, given excellent sense to the whole. She was not aware, that she coincided with high authorities in giving this turn to the original: — see *Schnurrer, Dissert. Philol.* p. 279. — "Illum, qui regem adeo compellat hominem nequam; viros primarios, improbos? Non respicit principes," &c. &c. The LXX and Vulg. render it in like manner, "*qui dicit;*" and one MS. of De Rossi's reads האומר, fixing it in this sense. The 23d verse, too, — the difficulty of which is so great, that Schultens has reckoned up nineteen different meanings assigned to it, whilst Schnurrer has added several others, (p. 280.) — in which also our common version makes out the sense by an ellipsis, and Bishop Stock by introducing a change in the original text, (supposing עוד to be put for עול) — we have, here, rendered naturally as to the context, and simply and accurately as to the original, without supposing any change in the text, or putting any force upon the words. The sense of the entire passage may, agreeably to this translation, be now thus unfolded. — The

action would have been glanced at: — the slaying of the lamb; — the blood sprinkled upon the door-posts; — the destroying angel; — the preservation of the Hebrews, &c. On the contrary,

---

wicked are at once and suddenly punished; inasmuch as no darkness can conceal them from the all-seeing eye: and as it has not been allotted to man to enter into judgment, and discuss the right of the case, with his God; so, without the delay of any judicial process, he breaketh the mighty at once, because without any such form of judicial discussion *he knoweth their works, &c.* A marginal reading on the 24th verse in the common Bible goes to strengthen this interpretation; "*without searching out,*" exactly expressing the absence of that formal and inquisitorial examination, which the omniscience of the Deity renders unnecessary. Perhaps Miss Smith meant this by the words, "*no search,*" which she has added as another rendering for that which she has paraphrased by the expression, — "*they cannot be found.*"

There is another line in the above extract from this lady's version, which deserves to be noticed. "Nor turneth away from the cry of the poor" — verse 19. Here the word שׁוּעַ, which in the common translation is rendered, "*the rich,*" has been taken in its ordinary and familiar acceptation, "*cry:*" and I find that *Pagninus,* in his version of the passage, has used it in the same sense. To render the original exactly, then, according to this meaning of the term, it would be, "Nor turneth away from the cry at the face of the poor." — "The cry *at the face of* the poor," for "the cry *of* the poor," certainly appears a harsh construction, but yet is not irreconcileable with the Hebrew idiom. The parallelism in the 19th verse, is undoubtedly better preserved by this translation, than by the common one: the *poor* in the second line being contrasted with the *princes* in the first; whereas, in the usual way of rendering (שׁוּעַ being taken to signify the *rich*), the same description of persons that are spoken of in the first line, are again introduced into the second, so as to disturb the simplicity of the contrast, by naming twice over *one* of the subjects of the opposition.

the great power and impartial justice of God, in visiting, with sudden destruction, all, whether people or princes, whose crimes demand vengeance, seems to be the main thing insisted upon, without any discriminating characters to bind down this judicial exercise of his power to any one particular event. As to the circumstance of the destruction being wrought "*at midnight*," or, as it is again more generally stated, "*in the night*," it seems to connect with the idea, that "*the workers of iniquity*" could, as they imagined, "*hide themselves*" in the "*darkness*" and privacy of the night. *Grey* and *Schultens*, accordingly, explain the phrase of *night* or *midnight*, "in securitate profundissimâ." The paraphrase of *Calvin* upon this passage seems to give the justest notion of it.—"Non opus erit, ut Deus multos milites armet, &c. ad potentissimos et robustissimos evertendos: si modo insufflet, parvi et magni, puncto temporis, rapientur, et *mediâ nocte quum omnes quiescunt atque nihil minus expectant*, exterminabuntur; sine manu hominis auxiliove; quin sine conatu aut molimine ullo." — *Spanheim*, in his history of Job, gives the same explanation. *Munster*, *Vatablus*, *Clarius*, *Drusius*, *Patrick*, *Holden*, *Scott*, and *Dathe*, likewise concur in this view of the case. Upon the whole, it must be clear to every unprejudiced reader, that nothing but the creative eye of an hypothesis could have discovered, in this passage of

Job, the appropriate mark of time which the Bishop and Heath have descried in it.

We pass on, then, to the next and only remaining allusion to the Books of Moses; which, his Lordship informs us, is to be found in ch. xxxi. 33. compared with Gen. iii. 8. 12. The words in Job are, "If I covered my transgressions, as Adam, by hiding mine iniquity in my bosom."—Now, independently of the probability, that the general outline of the story of Adam's transgression had been handed down so as to be generally known to those who lived near the patriarchal age, — it must be observed, that this translation is by no means generally acquiesced in, either by the ancient or by the modern interpreters of Job. The Arabic and Syriac render the phrase כאדם, generally, "*as men.*" The LXX render, or rather paraphrase it, ἀκουσίως, "*involuntarily,*" or through the * *infirmity which belongs to man* : — the Vulgate, "*quasi homo* :" — Pagninus, in like manner, "*ut homo* :" — J. Tr. and Pisc. "*more hominum* :" — Mercer, "*sicut homines* :" — Tindal, "*before men* :" — Dathe, "*more humano,*" and subjoins to his translation the following remark : "Many interpreters think

* See pp. 344, 345. vol. i. for this sense of ἀκουσίως, as used by the LXX. See also, in addition to what is there said, the remarks of *Fischer* in his *Clavis Reliquiarum Versionum Græcarum, &c.* p. 219—222. *Velthusen, Comment. Theol.* tom. iv.

that אדם is here the proper name of the first man. But since, *in the whole book of Job, there is no one evident allusion to the sacred history,* I rather agree with those, who render the word כאדם, *as men, after the manner of men.*"*

I have enumerated these opinions, not because I think that the common version "*As Adam,*" ought to be rejected, but for the purpose of showing how little reason there is for pronouncing with confidence, — so as to build upon it any argument as to the time of the writer, — that such *must* be the sense. It is remarkable that *all* the early interpreters render the word otherwise. At the same time I cannot but confess that it appears to me to be a natural and just translation. And I will add, that there is introduced in the same verse, another expression, on which the Bishop, had he noticed it, might have laid some stress in furtherance of the argument he has advanced. בחבי* has for its root

* Miss Smith's translation of the word has run into a freedom, which seems not justified by the original — "as a *mean* man." For this no authority is adduced. The word אדם is undoubtedly to be rendered in this sense in Isai. ii. 9. But Vitringa well remarks upon that place, that when the words איש and אדם occur contrasted in the same sentence, the former signifies a man of dignity and note, the other a person of meaner condition. There is no passage, I believe, in the Old Testament, in which, without such a contrast implied in the sentence, the word is confined to the import, which has here been given to it by Miss Smith.

† This is commonly rendered "*in my bosom.*" I am con-

חבא, the same that is used in Gen. iii. 8. 10. to describe the *hiding* of our first parents from the

---

vinced that it should be rendered, "*in my lurking-place;*" and that the whole verse should be thus translated,

> "Did I cover, like Adam, my transgression,
> By hiding, in my lurking-place, mine iniquity."

I agree also with *Peters* (pref. p. viii.) that this contains a reference to the history of the first man, and his endeavours to hide himself after his transgression. But when he joins with these words, and as part of the same sentence, "BECAUSE *I feared a great multitude, or the contempt of families terrified me,*" I think he joins together incongruous ideas: for Job would in no degree have resembled Adam in hiding his transgression, had it been done through the fear of men, and to avoid the contempt of families, there being none such for Adam to fear. So that I cannot but wonder that so perspicacious a writer could have been led into such confusion. The Bishop of Killalla, in his translation, has fallen into the same mistake. Miss Smith has marked the true spirit of the connexion: "Then let me be terrified," &c.

The translation of the following verse, as it has been given by the Bishop, I cannot avoid annexing, on account of a singularity in the version which I believe is scarcely to be paralleled.

> "Because I dreaded the great multitude,
> And the *buz* of families scared me," &c.

I need not say that the word BUZ is peculiar to this version. The original expression signifies simply and plainly *contempt*, and is so rendered by all. Why then BUZ? The reader will be surprised to learn that this is the very word in Hebrew put into the English character; בוז, Buz.—This translation is certainly *literal* in the *most literal* sense of the word. But is it not too much to pursue *such* exactness, so as to allow the *meaning* altogether to escape?

This is not the only instance afforded us by the Bishop, of

presence of God. But yet, even this must be admitted to form a very slight ground of infer-

---

this new species of *literal* translation, which is effected merely by an alteration of the character in which the original word is written, and so giving a Hebrew word in an English type. Another striking one is supplied in ch. iv. 10. and repeated in ch. x. 16., xxviii. 8.—in all which places we find the word שחל, *Shachal*, which has been by other interpreters rendered a *lion*, conveyed to us by the Bishop under the term JACKAL:—a change of the sense, for which no conceivable reason can be assigned, but the *sameness of sound;* the word *Jackal*, or *Schakal*, (the name being thus indifferently written by English zoologists, from the French *Chacal*,) coinciding exactly with the Hebrew. It is not, indeed, without reason, that the word שועל, *Shoghal*, has been considered as denoting that species of *Fox*, which is called the *Jackal:* as may be seen in Parkhurst, who has some good observations on the word; and as it is used by Geddes in his translation of Judges xv. 4., concerning the *foxes* said to be caught by Samson. But שחל, the word with which we are concerned, has, I am confident, never been so rendered by any writer but Bishop Stock; and in using the word *Jackal*, in the several passages above mentioned, the English reader will be immediately aware, on the bare perusal, how miserably the sense is degraded. But still more so will he find it, in those other parts of Scripture, where this word is to be met: viz. Psalms xci. 13. Prov. xxvi. 13. Hos. v. 14., xiii. 7.:—in all of which, a fierce and powerful animal is manifestly intended. When the slothful man through pretended terror is made to exclaim, "There is a LION in the way:" what will be thought of the change, that makes him cry out, "There is a JACKAL in the way?"

Bishop Pocock and Primate Newcome have both justly remarked on the word שחל in Hos. v. 14. that it undoubtedly signifies a *species of lion:* and the latter has well explained the word in agreement with *Bochart:* "שחל, *Leo niger*, for שחר; the ל and ר being often exchanged in the Eastern languages."——[N. B. On the first of the three

ence, in supposing the passage in Genesis to have been referred to by the writer of Job; especially when it is considered, that the idea of *hiding* or *concealing*, is conveyed, in the same verse, in two

---

texts in Job above cited, there is a judicious criticism made by *Pilkington* (in his *Remarks*, p. 183.), with respect to the true pointing of the place, which I have not seen noticed by any translator of Job, and which ought not to be overlooked.]

Having noticed Bishop Stock's treatment of that noble animal, the Lion, in reducing him (under the term שחל) to the low estate of the Jackal, I cannot avoid adverting to another attack made by him upon the same animal (under the term שחצה), in the third of the texts already referred to. In the common Version of Job xxviii. 8. we have, "The *Lion's whelps* have not trodden it, nor the *fierce Lion* passed by it." In the Bishop's rendering, "The *sons of the splitter* tread it not, neither passeth over it the *Jackal*."—Will not the reader exclaim, "Hyperion to a Satyr?"—But now, to discover what is meant by "*sons of the splitter*," or how such an expression could come to be substituted for "*the Lion's whelps*," must surely be left to Œdipus himself, did not his Lordship step in to relieve us from our difficulty, by a translation of his translation, in the following note.—"*The splitter.*] The lion, who *splitteth* his prey in sunder."—His Lordship then proceeds to explain how the word comes to signify the *splitter*. The word שחצה, he writes ש־חצה, *who splitteth*; and so, he observes, we have another instance of the mode of tracing the meaning of words that commence with ש;—a mode to which I have already directed the reader's attention in the note, p. 128—131. To the instances there enumerated of the application of this strange and fanciful rule, he will be pleased to annex this new specimen of its use, which has changed "*the whelps of the Lion*," into "*the sons of the splitter!*"—N. B. "*The daughters of screeching*" (Stock's Job xxx. 29.) seem fit companions for these "*sons of the splitter.*"

other words, כסה and טמן; so that when the same idea was again to be expressed, some third term would naturally be employed. Besides, independently of this consideration, the mere use of so common a word, and one which has been so frequently employed throughout the poem, could of itself prove nothing.

We have now seen the full amount of the *proofs* by which the Bishop of Killalla persuades himself that he has established the priority of the writings of Moses to the book of Job. And whether those "notes of time," which (he adds) "have escaped the diligence of all preceding *

* Of the four "notes of time," that have been discussed, there is *but one*, (that which is founded on the Bishop's novel translation, *quails*,) that has not been again and again adverted to, by different writers, as supplying *some* ground for questioning the antiquity of the book of Job; and as often either abandoned or confuted. The same is to be said of the other notes of time which his Lordship has advanced, with the exception of that one which relates to the history of David, on which more hereafter. The assertion, however, which his Lordship has made, as to these notes of time having escaped the diligence of preceding critics, is easily explained by the statement which accompanies it; namely, that his Lordship declined the trouble of acquainting himself with what "preceding critics" had written. This offers, at the same time, no very satisfactory justification of the *fact*, of old wares being put forward for new. The general reader would, naturally, from his Lordship's language, have inferred, that new proofs were now adduced of the lateness of Job, and, from faith in his Lordship's authority, might imagine, that these proofs were more potent than any that had gone before; but he would little expect to find in them nothing

critics," be sufficient to justify the inference so confidently drawn, "that the writer of Job was junior to the Jewish legislator," must be left to the reader to decide.

Indeed, were the utmost that the Bishop desires conceded to his arguments; even allowing his Lordship's flight of quails, and the destruction of the first-born in Egypt, to hold good; the poem would not thereby, of necessity, be brought *lower* than the time of Moses; but might still, consistently with this admission, have been composed during the sojourning of the Israelites in the wilderness; which (it should be observed) is one branch of the hypothesis which supports the antiquity of the poem. — See page 102. of this volume. — And yet his Lordship is not content with inferring from the fore-mentioned supposed allusions, that the writer of Job was junior to Moses, but would also deduce from them the *likelihood* of his having been "junior *by some time*." — But since "the *quail*" cannot be maintained; since the mere word "*night*," or "*midnight*," is insufficient to designate the destruction of the first-born in Egypt; since the facts of the existence of *Giants* before the Flood (even supposing such to have been intended by the *Rephaim* of Job), and of *Adam*'s transgression

---

but the shreds and refuse of former hackneyed criticisms and exploded conjectures.

and his endeavour to conceal it (supposing these also to have been alluded to), must have been known even to the latest date of the patriarchal age by tradition*; — it seems plainly to follow, that the "sandy foundation," on which the Bishop conceives the opinion of the antiquity of this poem to be built, belongs rather to another structure, which his Lordship has, by his own confession a little too hastily, thrown up.

On the three remaining marks of time it cannot be necessary to dwell. The reader will be easily satisfied upon the bare perusal of the passages referred to, even in the Bishop's own translation of them, that they contain no indications whatever of that reduced date which he ascribes to this book. The inference from ch. xxxiii. 23.†

* The great distance of time from Adam creates no difficulty respecting Job's knowledge of the transaction of the fall. It should be remembered, that the patriarchal longevity diminishes the effect of that distance. In fact we can connect Adam and Abraham by two intervening links, Methuselah and Shem: Methuselah connecting Adam and Shem, as having lived concurrently with part of the lives of both; and Shem again in like manner connecting Methuselah and Abraham. The history need then have passed but through three steps, to reach Abraham from Adam; and so would naturally spread through the several branches of the Abrahamic family; from which, and not remotely, the three friends of Job, and Job himself, are supposed to have been descended.

Blair gives the lives of the four patriarchs, above named, so as to make it appear, that Methuselah was 253 years old at the death of Adam; Shem, 97 years old at the death of Methuselah; and Abraham, 150 years old at the death of Shem.

† It is whimsical enough, that the writers who are desirous

which would bring it down to the time of David, is, as may be seen in the note below, too shadowy

---

to reduce the antiquity of the book of Job discover, in the same passages, resemblances to events entirely different. Bishop Stock sees *clearly*, in the above passage, an allusion to the destroying and interceding angels in the time of *David*, described in 2 Sam. xxiv. 16. and 1 Chron. xxi. 15. — Warburton discerns in it, "*a most circumstantial account* of God's dealing with *Hezekiah*, as it is told in the books of Chronicles and Kings." (*Div. Leg.* vol. ii. p. 497.) And Heath again pronounces of it; that it "*so plainly* describes the case of Hezekiah, when he fell sick, and the prophet Isaiah came to him with messages from God, that it is *hardly possible to apply it otherwise.*" That the application, so strenuously contended for by the two last writers, is altogether inadmissible, has been decisively shewn by *Peters*, in his *Crit. Diss.* pp. 35, 36. — Were objects of allusion to be curiously sought after among the events recorded in sacred history, the intended sacrifice of Isaac might perhaps be thought an object of reference, not less likely than any that has been assigned. But, in truth, of all that have been suggested by any supposed resemblance, none has been more unhappily selected than that which the Bishop has imagined, and in which I verily believe he has not been anticipated by any preceding critic. The perusal of the passage in Job, and of the history to which his Lordship refers, will be at once sufficient to prove, not only that they do not correspond, but that they are actually repugnant. Yet his Lordship thus speaks with full confidence of the conclusion derived from this reference:—"Here is a remarkable passage, well worthy the attention of critics, who wish to *ascertain* the much disputed point, *the date* of the poem before us:" and he proceeds to point out the precise fact, to which the allusion here is made; "that of the *destroying angel*, seen by David in the act of inflicting a plague upon Jerusalem, and commanded to stay his hand, in consequence of the atonement which the *interceding angel* ordered king David, by the prophet Gad, to offer unto God;"—and the correspondence of course is made to consist, in there being an

to bear the touch: and the supposed allusions to events belonging to the age of the captivity, in chapters xxi. and xxxvi., the Bishop himself admits to be so faint as not to be very confidently relied on. And yet, strange to say, after making this admission, and consequently relinquishing the only pretence that existed for reducing the poem lower than the age of David, he speaks of these very passages, as "adding strength to the sentiment of those learned men, who have been inclined to give the honour of this celebrated composition to *Ezra*." That is, he abandons the premisses, and at the same time holds to the conclusion: — and this, too, a conclusion, which the most ingenious critics, who have ever undertaken its support, have failed in their endeavours to maintain.

It certainly seems strange, that an hypothesis, which reduces the date of this book to the times

---

interceding and a *destroying* angel found both in the history and in the poem. Now it unfortunately happens, that it is not quite clear that there is an *angel* spoken of in the poem at all: but, admitting that there is, it appears that we have then in this place an interceding angel only, and no destroying one; and that in the history we have a destroying angel, and no interceding one: — that is, the poem and the history are directly opposite in their characteristic features. There are other circumstances of obvious unsuitableness, on which it is unnecessary to enlarge. The answer of *Peters*, even to the application made to Hezekiah, supplies at once a refutation of this. To *Schultens*, *Grey*, *Scott*, and *Dathe*, in their annotations on the place, I refer the reader: also to *Schnurrer's* judicious view of it, *Dissert. Phil. Crit.* p. 275—277.

of the Babylonish captivity, and which ascribes the production of so sublime a poem to such a writer as Ezra, should, after having been so completely exploded, be at this day revived; revived too in the face of the triumphant arguments of *Grey*, *Peters*, *Lowth*, and *Michaelis*: and without any one reason advanced for its support, or any one argument against any of the numerous and powerful objections which those writers have brought against it. All the various ingenuity and erudition of a *Warburton* had been pressed into the service of this hypothesis: all had been employed to deck out a system for its support. A machinery was contrived; an allegory was dressed up; an assemblage of imposing circumstances imagined; an end devised; means suited to that end dexterously adapted; and the reader's curiosity was at least excited and amused, if his judgment was not convinced. But now, after all this machinery has been broken up; after this engaging allegory, with all its plausible accompaniments, has been *proved* to be but a splendid vision, a baseless fabric, the mere dream of a luxuriant and uncontrolled imagination,—one of those that issue from the ivory gate,—is it not too much to be called upon by a cold, dull, and cheerless *ipse dixit*, to replace the fragments of the shattered structure, to embrace the visionary theory as an established truth, and to surrender to the unsupported assertions of Bishop *Stock*, what had been refused to the learned and

subtle argumentations of Bishop *Warburton?*— When I speak of the mere *assertion* of his Lordship, I desire that it may be remembered, that I allude exclusively to his reduction of the date of the poem to the time of *Ezra.* Some colour of argument I admit to have been held forth, for his lowering it to the age of *David:* but none whatever has been offered for the transition from David to Ezra. This interval of above five hundred years, including the times of all the early *prophets,* the first of whom (Jonah) was near two hundred years later than the death of David, is flung away without ceremony; and the reader, who may have been sufficiently complaisant to travel with the Bishop so far down as to the second of the Jewish kings, finds himself unexpectedly transported, at once and without notice, to a period nearly one hundred years later than the return from the captivity.

As a *translator* of the book of Job, his Lordship was more particularly called upon to discuss the probability of this last supposed era of its production, than of any other; inasmuch as many arguments advanced particularly against this era are derived from the nature of the *style* and *language* of the poem; a subject on which it is remarkable that his Lordship, whose immediate business was with the *language* of the book, has given no opinion whatever, unless what may be conceived to be implied in the supposition, that the period of the captivity was the

era of the work, and Ezra its author. Perhaps Bishop Lowth was too severe upon his rival critic Warburton, when he pronounced, upon his advancing the same supposition, that the man who could seriously entertain it must not have "read either Job or Ezra in their original, and with a competent knowledge of the language." (*Letter to Warb.* p. 74.) This admirable critic proceeds, however, at length (from p. 73. to p. 95.), to detail those distinctive characters of style, which (he thinks) establish the truth of his positions, touching the antiquity of the composition in question, — and which it might not be disadvantageous to some modern critics to peruse. He concludes his valuable remarks on this head with the following words: — "But what is the difference between these," (namely Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel,) "in comparison of the difference between the author of the book of Job and Ezra? Let any one properly qualified to judge in this matter read the plain historical narrative in the two first chapters of Job; it is neat, concise, clear in its order and method, pure and elegant in its expression: let him then turn to Ezra, and find, if he can, a single Hebrew chapter, on which he can with a safe conscience bestow any part of this commendation. Let him moreover take into the account this last author's barbarous terms; and then let him tell me fairly, whether he does not find as much difference between these two writers, as between Sallust and Wil-

liam of Malmsbury. Let him next look into the poetical parts of Job, and let him compare them with any part of Ezra's undoubted writings, and I would then ask him, whether he would not as soon pitch upon Geoffry of Monmouth for the author of the Eneid, if that were a doubtful point, as Ezra for the author of the poem of Job: and I should not much doubt of his answering in the affirmative." (*Letter to Warb.* p. 96, 97.)

Bishop Lowth does not stand single in these opinions. For the evidence supplied to the antiquity of the book of Job from the nature of its language, I refer the reader to p. 131—133. 136—138. 140—143. of this volume: and in the subjoined note *, the opinions of some of the

* On the idea that Ezra could have written in that pure and poetic style, which is to be found in the Mosaic writings, the Psalms, and the book of Job, *Michaelis* makes the following remarks:—"Nihil Ezrâ inornatius; ut mirer, quo erroris portento Mosaica illi scripta tribui potuerint: quanquam non est, quod mirer, cum facinus simillimum ausus sit Harduinus." (*Præf. in Not. et Epim.* p. ix.) Again, "Comparet cui lubet, quæ ante et post exilium Babylonis Hebraice scripta supersunt; nec minorem invenit labem ac ruinam quam in linguâ Latinâ. Quapropter est mihi veri dissimillimum, grande ac poeticum spirantes psalmos post reditum ex Babylone scriptos fuisse—*Ezræ* certe, *cujus Hebraismo nihil est humilius et ingratius*, psalmos nobilissimos tribuere, peccato vicinum est Harduini, odas Horatianas infimæ linguæ Latinæ ætati tribuentis." (p. 196.)—Again, speaking particularly of the book of Job, he says, "Totius poematis ea est puritas, elegantia, sublimitas, quâ nihil majus perfectiusque in toto Hebraico codice superest.—Hocne poema, auream ubique linguæ Hebraicæ et Mosaicam ætatem spirans, ad ferrea illa tempora detrudamus, quæ extincto uno bono poetâ, Jeremia, nihil

most distinguished Hebrew critics will be found in a more detailed state to yield confirmation to

perfecti ac ne quidem mediocriter pulcri, fuderunt?" (p. 187, 188.)—*Schultens* is not less strong in his remarks upon the language and antiquity of Job. "Nullus inter sacros codices tam genuinum remotissimæ antiquitatis præfert characterem.—Multo facilius Ennianæ linguæ venerandum decus et pondus, expressisset scriptor aliquis ferreæ ætatis, quam Hebræus ab exilio Babylonico redux grandissimum illud, magnificum, intemeratum, ultimæ vetustatis notâ eminentissimâ impressum, quod è sublimi hacce, tam materiâ, quam stylo, compositione relucet. *Hoc qui discernere non valet, næ ille vel dissipate, vel imperite, judicare censendus.*" (Præf. * * * 3.)—Warburton, who was not suspected of very deep knowledge of the Hebrew language, was little qualified to feel, and less disposed to admit, the force of such reasoning as the above. He therefore made no reply to the arguments so powerfully pressed upon him from these sources, by Bishop Lowth in his *Letter:* although, as appears from a private communication to his friend Hurd, he found himself most sorely galled by his more critical adversary. See p. 369. of *Letters from a late eminent Prelate.*

Having adverted to these *Letters*, I cannot avoid transcribing an extraordinary passage, relating to the book of Job; as an instance of the whimsical originality, for which that extraordinary man conceived his superior talents to have afforded him a licence. "Poor Job! It was his eternal fate to be persecuted by his friends. His three comforters passed sentence of condemnation upon him, and he has been executing *in effigie* ever since. He was first bound to the stake by a long catena of Greek Fathers; then tortured by Pineda; then strangled by Caryl; and afterwards cut up by Wesley, and anatomized by Garnet. Pray don't reckon me amongst his hangmen. I only acted the tender part of his wife, and was for making short work with him. But he was ordained, I think, by a fate like that of Prometheus, to lie still upon his dunghill, and have his brains sucked out by owls." 29, 30.

the above positions. In speaking of Le Clerc, who has led the way to the reduction of the date of this poem to the age of Ezra, Schultens has made the following observations. — "Dolenda est conditio linguarum orientalium, prout eæ a multis tractantur. Unus, alter, tertius ad summum annus iis percipiendis datur. Analysis satis prompta. Explicatio ad receptam versionem non omnino impedita. Placent profectus; et jam metam se tenere credunt, qui carceribus vix egressi. — Quid causæ? Tum alia, de quibus alias, tum hoc vel maxime, quod qui in Græcis, Latinisve, non satis subactus, sibi aliquid arroget, mox in ordinem cogatur, atque ad subsellia relegetur: qui in Orientalibus, etiam in re pauperi ditissimus, non sibi tantum, sed et reliquis, videatur, si modo ope Lexici aliquid in medium proferre, mercesque suas venditare queat." Are our Commentators of the present day *more* conversant in Hebrew literature, and *more* cautious in giving to the public their interpretations of the Hebrew Scriptures, than Le Clerc?

We have now seen how indefensible, in the opinion of the most distinguished Hebrew critics, that hypothesis appears, which, reducing the book of Job to the period of the captivity, ascribes its production to such an author as Ezra. In embracing this hypothesis, however, the Bishop of Killalla has but trodden in the steps of others. But what shall we say to that, which

reduces Job himself to so late a date? This, I apprehend, is a discovery that has been entirely reserved for his Lordship: at least I know of no Commentator who is entitled to dispute with him the honour, whatever it may be, that belongs to the invention. It cannot, indeed, be affirmed, that he has laboured directly and specially to establish this point. But has he not so conducted his reasoning, as that it must follow by necessary implication? In the observations which have been offered at the outset of these remarks, p. 111—118., we have seen, that the time of Job, and the date of the Book, are treated by him as in all respects the same. * If, therefore, his Lordship has succeeded, in bringing down the latter below the Babylonish captivity, he must be considered, on his own principles, as having done the same by the former. The last note of the translation explicitly affirms, that Job must have

* It is possible that his Lordship may, to the justness of the assertion which I have here repeated from the place referred to, object the following words, which will be found, quoted from his preface in p. 88. "But, if it were ever so difficult to ascertain the portion of time when the *patriarch lived*, it may not be impossible, from the internal marks in the poem itself, to conjecture with tolerable certainty the *era of its author*." I do not deny, that the Bishop has here *spoken* of the times of Job himself and of the author of the book, as not necessarily connected; nor do I assert that he deliberately intended to consider them as the same: I only affirm, that in his reasoning (whether intentionally or not) they *are* completely confounded.

lived after the time of David. The entire scheme of the reasoning pronounces, that he must have lived in the time of Ezra.

On this result I think it not necessary to offer any comment. * And, indeed, it is not without some pain, that I have been led to comment upon his Lordship's work at all. There are many reasons why I could have wished to forbear; and among these not the least forcible is, the circumstance of its having issued from a member of that distinguished order in the Church, to which I feel at all times disposed, from inclination not less than duty, to pay the utmost deference and respect. This last consideration, however, upon reflection, seemed to render it the more necessary that I should undertake the unpleasing task, in which I have been engaged throughout the latter part of this Number. I had already given to the public, in a former edition of this work, those remarks on the history of the book of Job which are contained in the former part of the Number. I had, upon grounds which appeared to me satisfactory, maintained the antiquity both of the book and of its subject; and from this I had derived an argument in favour of the antiquity, and wide extent, of the sacrificial rite. I had also, proceeding in a way directly opposite to that which the Bishop has, in his preface, professed

* If any were requisite on a point so perfectly untenable, the observations in the first part of this Number would abundantly supply it.

to have pursued, spared neither pains nor time to acquire the best information, and from the best interpreters, before I presumed to offer my ideas to the public. Soon after I had done so, the Bishop's work appeared, carrying with it the authority of his station, and, by a single *dictum*, levelling the whole of my laborious structure in the dust. That my observations were not thought worthy of notice by his Lordship, could not cause, even to the feelings of an Author, much uneasiness; as the works of the most learned and celebrated commentators on Job were left not only unnoticed, but confessedly unperused. What remained, under these circumstances, to be done? Silence might be construed into an admission, that what I had before advanced had been unadvisedly offered, and could not be maintained: and, on the other hand, in treating of the Bishop's performance, justice required that I should speak of it in terms remote from those of commendation. Executed with a haste that nothing can excuse; abounding with errors both of reasoning and interpretation; presuming, upon slight and fancied theories, to new-mould the original text *; and

* Bishop Stock prides himself on a list of *conjectural* alterations of the Hebrew text, contained in an Appendix to his translation: — by which it appears, as he pronounces, that there are *more than sixty* places in Job, in which the text has been *corrupted*. By much the greater number of these alterations is proposed upon the reading of a single MS., or of a couple at the most; and what deserves yet more to be remarked is, that, for not fewer than *twenty-three*, no authority

withal setting the seal of Episcopal authority to the entire congeries of precipitancies, mistakes,

---

of *any MS. or version whatever* is pretended, but the name of Stock alone is annexed, as a sufficient justification! To this, it must be remembered, that we are to add, the rejection of the two last verses of the book upon the same unsupported dictum. These, one would think, are tolerable exercises of the conjectural faculty; and yet, strange to say, they are far exceeded by one which yet remains to be noticed; and which will be found contained in the notes on ch. xli. 11, 12.

"I am strongly of opinion, that, in the original of this fine poem, the speech attributed to God ended here" (viz. end of verse 12.): "not only because it forms a fuller and more dignified conclusion than that which now closes the chapter; but because it assigns a satisfactory answer to the question, With what view was this laboured description introduced, of the two formidable works of the Creator, the river horse and the crocodile? Answer that question yourselves, saith the Almighty: if ye shrink with terror before my works, how will ye dare to set yourselves in array against their Maker? But to whom then shall we ascribe the Appendix contained in the last two-and-twenty verses of the forty-first chapter? Either to the author himself of the poem, who, in his *second* but not *better* thoughts, conceived he might add something valuable to his picture of the crocodile; or, which is more likely, to *some succeeding genius, impatient to lengthen out by his inventive powers what had justly obtained possession of the public esteem.* After enclosing therefore in brackets a superfetation that might well have been spared, we will go on, however, to give light to it. — Observe how the Appendix is ushered in: [12. *I will not be silent, &c.*] Is this language for the Omnipotent? Is it at all suitable to the grandeur of conception manifested in the rest of the poem? *the thread is too visible, by which the purple patch,* of more show than utility, is fastened on."

Here, indeed, is critical amputation with a vengeance.

and mutilations—a due regard to my own credit, and, infinitely more, a due regard to the cause of

---

And here we have a large portion of the original at one stroke scored off, and rejected as a "*superfetation*" (so his Lordship is pleased to call it), exactly in the same manner as we find the history of the birth of Christ, in the beginning of Matthew and Luke, scored off, as a *superfetation*, by the Editors of the *Unitarian New Testament.* Heath had, indeed, transposed the first fourteen verses of the xlth chapter, and inserted them between the 6th and 7th verses of the xliid. For this, too, he had assigned a reason not deficient in plausibility. But to reject altogether an entire portion of the book, and this upon the merely fanciful and figurative ground of a "*thread too visible*" and a "*purple patch,*" has been reserved for a Bishop of the Established Church.

Having adverted to the subject of *conjectural emendation of the Sacred Text,* I cannot but enter my protest most decidedly against the spirit, which has, of late years, so mischievously infected the translators of the books of Scripture in that particular respect. The Bishop of Killalla, unfortunately, has had no small degree of countenance in such practices. By others, and those, too, critics of no small repute, this spirit has been too much indulged. The late Bishop of St. Asaph has well observed, that considering the matter only as a problem in the doctrine of chances, the odds are always infinitely against conjecture. (*Horsley's Hosea*, pref. p. xxxiv.)—The consequences growing out of the habit of altering the original Hebrew according to conjecture, must be, that we shall cease altogether to possess a standard text, and that for the *word of God*, we shall ultimately have only the *word of man.* Bishop Pocock justly observes upon this practice, that, "every one, for introducing any where such a meaning as pleased him best, might alter the words as he pleased, of which there would be no end; and it would be a matter of very ill consequence indeed. We must (he adds) fit our meaning to the words, and not the words to our meaning." (*Pocock's Works*, vol. ii. p. 493.)—That the MSS. and ancient versions are not to be called in, to assist in rectifying

truth, demanded, that such a work should not be allowed to pass upon the world, as a faithful exposition of a part of Sacred Writ. In my observations upon the individual defects of this work, I have not thought it necessary to travel beyond the course which the Bishop's remarks upon the date of Job unavoidably prescribed. But I cannot dismiss the subject finally without saying, that, in my opinion, the necessity for a new English version of the Book of Job (if any be supposed previously to have existed) has in *no particular* been diminished by that which has been given to the world by the Bishop of Killalla.*

As a matter of curiosity, and as supplying some relief from the *tædium controversiæ*, I annex a short account of the history of Job, as it has been handed down amongst the Arabians.

---

the Hebrew text, where confusion has manifestly arisen, I am very far indeed from contending: but that, what is properly called *conjecture* should be permitted to interfere, and now especially after the immense labours of *Kennicott* and *De Rossi* in their collation of the various copies of the Hebrew, is, I think, wholly inadmissible. This is not the place to enlarge upon such a subject. I would strongly recommend to the perusal of the reader the judicious observations of Bishop Horsley, in his preface, as before referred to, and at p. xxxix. See also *Dathii Opuscula*, p. 135—137.

* His Lordship was, subsequently to the publication of the second edition of this work, advanced to the See of *Waterford*. To avoid confusion, however, I have continued to designate him by the title under which he is known to the public as the translator of Job.

JOB, or AIUB, (as he is called in Arabic, agreeably to the Hebrew name איוב,) is reported, by some of their historians, to have been descended from Ishmael; it being held, that from Isaac, through Jacob, all the prophets had sprung, excepting three, Job, Jethro, (the father-in-law of Moses, called by the Arabians, Schoaib,) and Mahomet; which three had come of the line of Ishmael, and were Arabians. By others, his descent is traced from Isaac, through Esau; from whom he was the third, or at most the fourth, in succession. And in the history given by *Khendemir*, who distinguishes him by the title of *the Patient*, it is stated that by his mother's side he was descended from Lot:—that he had been commissioned by God to preach the faith to a people of Syria:—that, although no more than three had been converted by his preaching, he was, notwithstanding, rewarded for his zeal by immense possessions:—that his wealth and prosperity excited the envy of the Devil; who, presenting himself before God, charged Job with motives of self-interest in his religious obedience, and asserted, that, if the Almighty would deprive him of his substance, his boasted allegiance would not hold out for a single day:—that the Devil obtained permission to strip him of his wealth; but that Job's fidelity remained unshaken:—that having received still further permission to afflict him in his person, the Devil infused by a pestilential breath such infection,

as to render Job's entire body one putrid ulcer, and of a nature so offensive, as to repel from him every attendant, and to force the inhabitants to drive him out of the city into a remote and solitary place, whither his wife carried every day what was necessary for his subsistence: — that the Devil constantly stole from her whatever she had provided for this purpose; and that having reduced her to such a condition, that she had nothing remaining for her husband's relief, he appeared to her in the form of a bald old woman, and offered, upon condition of her giving two tresses of hair that hung upon her neck, to furnish her every day with what she might require for her husband's subsistence: — that Job's wife having agreed to the proposal, and parted with the tresses, the Devil produced the hair to Job, affirming that it had been cut from his wife's head, when caught in the act of matrimonial unfaithfulness: — that Job, enraged against his wife, was led to swear, that if he recovered his health he would most severely punish her for her offence: — that the Devil, having thus got the better of Job's patience, transformed himself to an angel of light, and published to the people of the surrounding country, that Job had forfeited the favour of God, and that they should no longer permit him to abide among them: — that Job, being informed of what had passed, had recourse to God by prayer, who in a moment put an end to all his sufferings; for that the

angel Gabriel descended to the place where he was, and, striking the earth with his foot, caused a fountain of the purest water to spring up, wherein Job having washed his body and drank of it, he was suddenly and perfectly restored to health: — and that, after this, God multiplied his riches in such a manner, that, to express the abundance of it, the Arabian authors say that a shower of gold fell upon him. See *D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient.* tom. i. pp. 75, 76. 432. 458.; also *Sale's Koran*, vol. ii. p. 162., in which latter place the story is given with some minute variations.

The reader will of course consider these fables as introduced here *principally* for his amusement. One fact, however, they unequivocally speak; the belief of the Arabians, that there was in reality such a person as Job, who lived in the patriarchal age, and was distinguished above all men by his sufferings and his patience. The reverence for the name of Job has been in truth, from the earliest times, and to this day continues to be, through all Arabia, extremely great: so that many of the noblest families among the Arabians have gloried in being descended from that patriarch. The famous dynasty of the great *Saladin* have been known by the name of *Aioubites*, or *Jobites*; their illustrious founder being called by the name of Job. — *D'Herb. Bib. Orient.* tom. i. p. 76. — The reverence for this name has, I am sorry to say, been carried still farther amongst Christians: the worship of Job being

(as Broughton tells us) of great antiquity, both amongst the Greek and Latin churches; the Greeks having chosen the 6th of May for celebrating the festival of SAINT JOB, and the Latins keeping it on the 10th. — *Diction. of all Relig.* vol. i. p. 538.

NO. LX.—ON GROTIUS'S STRANGE MISCONCEPTION OF THE NATURE OF ABEL'S SACRIFICE.

PAGE 49. (°)—Grotius, followed by Le Clerc, interprets the words in Gen. iv. 4. which we translate *the firstlings*, as signifying the *best*, and *finest*; and will have this to relate only to the *wool*, which is known to have been offered to the gods in later times. That, also, which we render *the fat thereof*, he considers to mean no more than the *milk*, and appeals to the Seventy, who in numerous instances have certainly translated the word חלב, here used, by γάλα.

But first, as to בכורים, it cannot be denied, that, in relation to *man* or *beast*, it is never found in any part of the Bible, in any other sense than that of *first-born*. So appropriate is this meaning, that בכור is used *absolutely*, to express *primogeniture*, and the *right* resulting from it, as in Gen. xxv. 31, 32, 33, 34. and xliii. 33. It is, indeed, applied to *first fruits*, or fruits *first ripe*; but this evidently refers to its radical signification of *first born*: nor can any instance be adduced

of the application of the term in the figurative sense of *finest* and *best*, contended for by Grotius, unless such a signification be tacitly supposed to attach in all cases to the idea of the *first*, or *earliest*, in its kind. He has, indeed, referred us to the expresion בכור מות in Job xviii. 13.: to the use of the word בכורים, applied to the fruit of the fig-tree; and to the force of the term בכור, employed to denominate the species of camel distinguished for its swiftness. But none of these instances can bear him out.

The first, which he would arbitrarily render, "morbus *maxime lethalis*," is no more than *the* FIRST-BORN *of Death*, a strong poetical expression; for the more particular meaning of which see *Parkhurst* on the word, and *Chappelow* on Job xviii. 13. The second, which he says implies "ficus *maxime fructiferæ*," is an expression peculiarly unfortunate, as the word in this application is used to denote that species of fig which is *early ripe;* insomuch that at this day the word * *Boccôre* (בכור) signifies, in the Levant, the *early fig*, as *Shaw* states in his Travels, p. 370. fol. As to the third instance, the reason of applying this term to the fleetest species of camel, is not the general idea of distinction and superiority, but the peculiar quality of *swiftness:* the idea of *celerity* and *prevention* being most appositely conveyed by a term, whose radical

* See *Lowth's Isai.* xxviii. 4., *Blayney's Jer.* xxiv. 2., and *Newcome's Hos.* ix. 10.

signification implied the *first*, or *earliest*. In this sense the word is explained in the kindred dialects, of the Syriac, and (particularly) the Arabic: for which see *Schindler* and *Castell.* Indeed, no lexicon whatever, so far as I can discover, supports Grotius in the *general* signification which he attributes to the word. But all concur in giving to it the meaning of the *earliest* or *first produced*, or some other flowing from, and connected with, these.

Again, with respect to the word חלב, although it is undoubtedly used in several places to signify *milk*, as well as *fat*, yet, as Heidegger remarks, (*Hist. Patr. Exercit.* v. § 20. tom. i.) there is not a single passage in Scripture, in which it is applied in that sense, when sacrifice is spoken of, and the offering is said to be מחלב.

But, moreover, as to Grotius's notion, that the *wool* and *milk* were the parts of the animal, which alone were offered by Abel on this occasion, it is notorious, that neither one nor the other is ever mentioned in Scripture as an offering to the Deity, unless this single passage be supposed to supply an instance. Kennicott also contends, in opposition to Grotius, that the strict analogy of translation will not admit the possibility of his construction of this passage of Genesis. "For if," says he, "it be allowed by all, that *Cain's bringing* OF THE *fruit of the ground*, means his bringing THE *fruit of the ground*, then Abel's *bringing* OF THE *firstlings of his flock*, must like-

wise mean his bringing THE *firstlings of his flock*," the exact sameness in the original phrase requiring an exact similarity in the translation. (*Two Dissert.* pp. 192, 193.) The passage, indeed, needs but to be read, to prove the whimsical conceit of this comment of Grotius. Not one word is said of *wool*, or that can lead the mind to it by any conceivable reference: but yet, because he is determined not to allow the sacrifice of Abel to have been an oblation of the animal itself; and there being no part of it that could be offered, without slaying the animal, except the wool and the milk; he is therefore led to pronounce that in the offering of these, the sacrifice consisted.

Nothing, in truth, can be more strangely chimerical, than the whole of Grotius's observations on this part of Scripture. His criticisms on the words מפרי האדמה, furnishes another extraordinary specimen. "By these words," he says, "nothing more is meant, than what the Heathens in later times understood by their *Sagmen*, which was a sort of turf, cut out of sacred ground, and carried sometimes in the hand of a Roman ambassador." On this Heidegger is compelled to exclaim—"Sæpe vir, cætera magnus, ex paganis ritibus talia, obtorto collo, ad explicationem rerum sacrarum rapit; quæ, si propius intueare, nec cœlum nec terram attingunt." (*Exercit.* v. § 19.) But to return.

With respect to the word חלבהן, it may be

right to remark, that, instead of *the fat* THEREOF (which is ambiguous), it may with more propriety be rendered, *the fat* OF THEM, meaning thereby, *the fattest* or *best, among the firstlings*. It is well known that the word חלב is often used for the *best of its kind*. Thus חלב חטה, is the *finest* of the wheat, Ps. lxxxi. 16., cxlvii. 14. And the *fat* of the oil, the *fat* of the wine, stand for the *best* of the oil and wine, and have been so translated *, Numb. xviii. 12. It is the more necessary to make this distinction, lest the particular mention of the *fat* might lead to the supposition that the sacrifice was a *peace-offering*, the *fat* of which was consumed upon the altar, and the flesh eaten by the priests and the person at whose charge the offering was made. This was clearly an offering of a later date. The use of animal food was not as yet permitted. And the sacrifice seems to have been a *holocaust*, the whole of which was consumed upon the altar. That the sacrifice was of this kind many arguments concur to render probable. (See p. 2. of this volume; also *Shuck. Connect.* vol. i. p. 81.) But it is placed beyond the possibility of doubt, if it be admitted, with the authorities and reasons adduced in pp. 65—76. of this volume, that the sign of the Divine acceptance of Abel's sacrifice was the consumption of it by fire from

* See *Chrysost. Jun. Vatab.*; also *Jen. Jew. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 149. and *Kenn. Two Diss.* pp. 193, 194.

heaven. Porphyry, in his 2d book, *De Abstin. Anim.*, considers this a sufficient reason to pronounce the offering of Abel to have been a *holocaust*, and compares it with that of Solomon, described in 2 Chr. vii. 1., where it is said, that *when Solomon had made an end of praying, the fire came down from heaven, and consumed the burnt offering* (or holocaust) *and the sacrifices.*

NO. LXI. — ON THE DIFFERENCE IN THE DIVINE RECEPTION OF THE SACRIFICES OF CAIN AND ABEL.

PAGE 49. (P)—To those who reject the divine institution of sacrifice, this has always proved a stumbling-block; and to remove the difficulty, various solutions have been elaborately, but unsuccessfully, devised. The difference in the treatment of the two brothers had been accounted for by ancient commentators, from the *different mode of division* of their several oblations, as if Cain's fault had consisted in not giving to God the *best* parts, or the *proper* parts of the sacrifice. This unintelligible notion, which an early enemy of revelation, Julian, failed not to urge against Christians, took its rise from the Septuagint translation of Gen. iv. 7. Οὐκ, ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσ-

ενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἥμαρτες; —*If you should rightly offer, but yet not rightly divide, would you not sin?*

Others have held, that the difference arose from this, that, whilst Abel brought of the *first-lings* of his flock, Cain did not in like manner bring of the *first* or *best* of his fruits. This idea, for which there appears no farther foundation in the original, than that it is *simply* stated that Cain brought *of the fruits*, originated with Philo, (as may be seen in p. 281. vol. i. of this work,) and has had the support of several Christian commentators. See *Cyril. cont. Julian*, lib. x. p. 349. ed. Spanh. Lips. and *Pol. Synop.* in Gen. iv. 3. Hallet also, in his note (*s*) on Hebr. xi. 4., concurs in this idea, and at the same time adds, that Abel's faith *caused* him to select the choicest for sacrifice. Primate Newcome, in his new version, seems to adopt the same notion, explaining the *more excellent sacrifice* in Hebr. xi. 4. as "consisting of more *choice and valuable* offerings."

Again, the reason of the difference assigned by Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* lib. i. c. 3.) is, that "God was more pleased with the spontaneous productions of nature, than with an offering extorted from the earth by the ingenuity and force of man." This strange conceit has been confined to Josephus, and the Rabbins, from whom Havercamp affirms, and Cunæus and Heidegger

fully prove, it was derived by this author — See *Krebs. Observ. in Nov. Test.* p. 383.

Another reason assigned is the difference of moral character. But the history clearly connects the fact of the acceptance of the one and the rejection of the other, with the nature and circumstances of the respective oblations.

Again, it is said that Cain's entertaining a design against his brother's life laid the foundation for the difference of treatment. But this intention against his brother's life is expressly affirmed to have been the *consequence* of the preference given to his brother's offering.

Dr. Priestley has observed * (*Theol. Rep.* vol. i.

* This essay of Dr. Priestley, in which (as has been stated in p. 494. of the first volume of this work) he has laboured to disprove the divine institution of sacrifices, and to establish their mere human invention as springing from anthropomorphitical notions of the Deity, it may be curious to compare with his latest observations on this subject in his *Notes*, &c. on Gen. iv. 3. There, in treating of the offerings of Cain and Abel, he expressly asserts his belief in the *divine origin* of sacrifices. "On the whole (he says) it seems most probable, that men were *instructed by the Divine Being himself* in this mode of worship," (sacrifice,) "as well as taught many other things that were necessary to their subsistence and comfort."

This observation, together with those which have been already referred to, (p. 488—491. of the first vol.) cannot be read without wonder, when it is considered, that the author of them had spent a life in the continued endeavour to refute the assertions which they contain. This, however, after all, but shows the vast difference there is between the disputant and the inquirer. The wonder is easily removed by the view already taken of this matter in p. 492. of the first volume.

p. 195.) that "the actions of both the brothers" (in the offerings made by them of the flock and of the fruits) "seem to have been of the same nature, and to have had exactly the same meaning." In this I entirely agree with him. Viewed in the light of reason merely, the distinction made between them by the Deity is utterly unaccountable. Sacrifices being considered as *gifts*, or as *federal rites*, or *as symbolical actions*, expressing the dispositions and sentiments of the offerer, or in any way that *human invention* can be conceived to have devised them; the actions of the two brothers appear to stand precisely on the same ground, each bringing an offering of that which he respectively possessed, and each thus manifesting his acknowledgment and worship of the great Author of his possessions.

But what do I infer from this? That reason cannot untie the knot; and that to revelation consequently we must look for the solution. Here the difficulty vanishes, and all appears connected and satisfactory, as I trust is shown in the

---

And, upon the whole, there seems good reason to think, that, had Dr. Priestley been permitted, for a longer period, to enjoy that freedom from angry polemics, which was indulged to the few concluding years of his life, he would have grown into a juster acquaintance with many of the vital truths of Scripture, and would have retracted many of those noxious opinions which he had so long and so assiduously toiled to disseminate.

account given of this matter in the second of these Discourses: — see p. 49—55. vol. i.

The words of Cloppenburg on this subject deserve to be noticed: "Etsi diversæ oblationi videatur occasionem præbuisse diversum vitæ institutum, ipsi tamen diversitati oblationis hoc videtur subesse, quod Abel pecudum oblatione cruentâ ante omnia curavit, τὸ ἱλαστήριον διὰ τῆς πίστεως ἐν τῷ αἵματι, *propitiationem per fidem in sanguine*, quo necessario purificanda erant dona Deo oblata, Heb. ix. 22, 23. — Cainus autem, oblatione solâ Eucharisticâ de fructu terræ defungens, supinè neglexerit sacrificium ἱλαστικὸν, ut eo nomine Deo displicuerit, neque potuerit obtinere *Justitiæ Dei, quæ ex fide est, testimonium*, quod non perhibebat Deus, neglecto istoc externo symbolo supplicationis ex fide pro remissione peccatorum obtinendâ. Quemadmodum ergo, in cultu spirituali, publicanus supplicans cum peccatorum ἐξομολογήσει descendit in domum suam justificatus præ pharisæo, cum gratiarum actione, Deo vovente decimas omnium quæ possidebat, Luc. xviii. 12. — sic censemus hâc parte potiorem fuisse Abelis oblationem præ oblatione Caini, quod ipse supplicationem suam pro impetrandâ peccatorum remissione testatus sit per sacrificii propitiatorii cruentam oblationem, cum alter dona sua eucharistico ritu offerret, χωρὶς αἱματοχυσίας." *Sacrif. Patriarch. Schola.* p. 15. On the subject of this Number see *Kennic. Two Dis-*

sert. p. 225—238. and *Barrington's Misc. Sacr.* p. 69—71.

NO. LXII. —— ON THE TRUE MEANING OF THE PHRASE, ΠΛΕΙΟΝΑ ΘΥΣΙΑΝ, ATTRIBUTED TO THE SACRIFICE OF ABEL.

PAGE 49. (q) — Dr. Kennicott's criticism on this passage combined with Gen. iv. 4. is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. The words, πλείονα θυσίαν, he contends, should be rendered a sacrifice *greater*, or *more*, in reference to *number*, rather than to *value*: for that, although πολὺς in the positive sense does sometimes signify *excellens, præstans*, yet in the other degrees of comparison it is never so used; but that πλείων has constantly the signification of *plus, amplior, copiosior*, or *numerosior*: and for this he refers to the several lexicons of Budæus, Constantine, Gesner, Hederic, Leigh, Scapula, and Stephens: and from Stephens's Concordance he says it appears, that πλείων has not the sense of *præstantior*, through the whole of the New Testament. The idea of *number*, he says, necessarily strikes us; and therefore Wickliffe's, which reads a MUCH MORE *sacrifice*, he affirms to be a just translation; and that Queen Elizabeth's version was right, in preserving the force of this by rendering the words, *a greater sacrifice*.

In conformity with these observations he sug-

gests an interpretation of Gen. iv. 4., which, I apprehend, is peculiar to himself: namely, that Cain brought a *single* offering, of the fruits of the ground; and Abel a *double* oblation, consisting likewise of the fruits, and of an animal sacrifice besides. His principal argument in support of this novel idea is derived from the use of the word Mincha in this place; the meaning of which, he says, is fixed precisely in Levit. ii. 1., and confined to an unbloody oblation, viz. a *meat-offering;* or, as we generally appropriate the word meat to *flesh*, more properly *a bread-offering*. This term, he argues, being here applied to Abel's oblation, and being totally inapplicable to the *animal* sacrifice which he is expressly said to have offered, it follows, that he must *likewise* have made an offering of the fruit of the ground such as Cain had brought. And this, he contends, the very turn of expression in the original strongly indicates: for that, in strictness, the passage should be rendered, "Cain brought of the fruit of the ground, a Mincha to Jehovah — and Abel brought (the same), he *also* (brought) of the firstlings," &c.; for that in the words, והבל הביא גם הוא, the particle גם cannot be joined to the verb immediately preceding, from the nature of the position, and its connexion with a second nominative case — and that, agreeably to this, the Seventy have rendered the clause, Καὶ Ἄβελ ἤνεγκε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν τρωτοτόκων.

This criticism of Dr. Kennicott seems, however, unworthy of so great a name; for even admitting, that the particle גם is to be connected, not with the preceding verb, but with the second nominative case, the inference drawn by Dr. Kennicott will by no means follow; there being no form of expression more familiar to the Hebrew, than the emphatic repetition of the persons spoken of, with this particle גם adjoined. To adduce instances of this were idle, as it is one of the most common idioms of the language. Whoever wishes for examples, however, may find them in sufficient plenty, in *Nold. Concord. Partic. Ebr.* pp. 201, 202. Now, in this application of the particle, it is manifest, that the whole of Dr. Kennicott's construction falls to the ground. Again, admitting the particle to be used in the additive sense, *also*, as Dr. Kennicott's view of the passage requires, yet will not this justify his translation; since, being necessarily connected with the second nominative case by this writer's own admission, it can only mean, that Abel *also, as well as* Cain, brought an offering; whereas, according to Dr. Kennicott, it must signify, that he brought *also of* the firstlings, &c. i. e. he brought not only what Cain had brought, but *besides*, or *in addition to that*, of the firstlings of his flock; to make out which translation, the word *also* must be connected, not with the second nominative case הוא, or αὐτὸς, but with the following words, מבכרים, or ἀπὸ τῶν

πρωτοτόκων, from which it is entirely disjoined by the intervening pronoun. Thus Dr. Kennicott becomes inconsistent with himself, having first contended for the immediate conjunction of the particle with the second nominative case, and having then applied it in such a sense as to require its conjunction, not with this nominative case, but with another part of the sentence.

But he relies on the force of the word *Mincha*, which is applied only to Abel's offering: the Lord being said to have had *respect to Abel and to his* MINCHA. It is, then, of importance to ascertain the true meaning of this word; and the more so because if this writer's sense of the term be admitted, and at the same time his theory of the *double* oblation be rejected, the necessary inference is, that no animal was slain by Abel, but that the offering must have been of the unbloody kind, and consequently that it was, as Grotius has contended, merely an offering of the milk and wool of his flock.

Now, it is in the first place to be remarked, that he explains the word *Mincha*, as applied to the offerings of Cain and Abel, by the exact definition of it, as we find it specifically used under the law, where it appears to be confined to offerings of the unbloody kind. (See *Two Dissert.* p. 188—192.) But if Dr. Kennicott be right in explaining the *Mincha* in all cases by the strictness of the Levitical definition, then it necessarily follows, that Cain did not merely

bring an offering *of the fruits of the ground*, but that he brought the *very kind* of *meat-offering*, or *Mincha*, appointed in the 2d ch. of Levit., where, as Kennicott emphatically observes, the description of the *meat-offering* concludes with these words, מנחה הוא, THIS IS A MINCHA. Cain's offering, then, must have consisted of "fine flour with oil poured upon it, and frankincense placed thereon." The exact quantities also of the flour and oil, as prescribed in the law, must have been employed. This the force of Kennicott's argument indispensably requires. For he contends, that the *very definition* of the *Mincha*, as given in Leviticus, "determines the sense of the word absolutely in the five books of Moses: for that wherever the inspired author mentions the word *Mincha*, as a sacrificial term, he must certainly use it in the same sense; the same, which had been settled upon it by God himself, before Genesis was composed."

Now, it is certain, that wherever the MINCHA, properly so called, is spoken of *under* the law, it must be understood in the sense expressly given to it *by* the law; and in this reference it is, that Buxtorf, Reland, Outram, and Jos. Mede (whom Kennicott quotes in justification of his opinion), seem to have spoken of the *Mincha*. But, surely, when applied to oblations *antecedent* to the law, the term is not necessarily to be taken in that restrained sense, to which its general signification was limited, in later times, by

those appropriate circumstances attached to it by the legal institution. It is undoubtedly true, as Gussetius, who is referred to by Kennicott, remarks, that a *Mincha* presented to God signifies an unbloody oblation. But when he says, that it *always* does so, and that "there is not one instance of its being used for an animal oblation throughout the Bible;" (*Comment. Ling. Ebr.* p. 473.), he, in the first place, begs the question respecting the sacrifice of Abel, which is expressly called a *Mincha:* secondly, he forgets, that every other instance of its sacrificial application is an instance of the use of the term *under* the law, by which its original meaning had been narrowed: and, lastly, both he and Kennicott materially err in point of fact; the word *Mincha* being frequently employed even under the law, to denote *animal sacrifices*, as well as the *bread* or *flour-offerings*. Thus in 1 Kings xviii. 29. 36., 2 Kings iii. 20., and Ezra ix. 4, 5., we find the morning and evening sacrifices, which, beside a bread-offering and drink-offering, included also the offering of a lamb, described by the general appellation of *Mincha*. In Judg. vi. 18. the same term is applied to the offering of a kid with unleavened cakes. And in 1 Sam. ii. 17. and Mal. i. 13, 14. it is used in relation to animal sacrifice, in a manner the most explicit and unqualified. So that, although, as Rosenmüller on Levit. ii. 1. affirms, this word be applied *per eminentiam* to the oblation of corn,

yet even under the law we find its more general signification force its way.

This proves decisively the weakness of Dr. Kennicott's argument derived from the supposition that the words מנחה הוא (Lev. ii. 6.) are to be understood in the sense, THIS IS A MINCHA, i. e. as marking the precise meaning of the term, wherever it occurred in a sacrificial relation. Indeed, the circumstances of the *various* kinds of *Bread-offerings*, comprehended under the term *Mincha*, which Kennicott himself admits to have existed (p. 190—192.), and of which there were not fewer than five, prove that this passage could not have been intended here as *confining* the term to the specific oblation to which it refers; and that it could only mean, that this oblation was one of those which might be included under the term *Mincha*. Vatablus renders the words, "*Munus est:* i. e. tale est munus quod offerri debet Deo." See also *Fagius*, *Vatablus*, *Castalio*, on Exod. xxx. 9.

It is certain that the true and original signification of the word, is that of *an offering presented to a superior*. Thus we find it in Gen. xxxii. 20. and xliii. 11. 15., in which places it is used for the purpose of appeasing: again, in 2 Chr. xxxii. 23. and Ps. lxxii. 10., where it is applied to offerings brought by strangers to the temple at Jerusalem: and also in 1 Kings x. 25., 2 Chr. ix. 24., 2 Kings viii. 8, 9., where it is used to denote the gifts sent to earthly princes. The word appears

to be derived from an Arabic verb, signifying *donavit:* see *Rosenm.* and *Le Clerc* on Lev. ii. 1., and *Schindl. Lexic. Pentag.* Parkhurst derives it from the Hebrew verb נח, *quievit, posuit;* and *Calasio from* נחח, *duxit,* without, however, making any change in the signification. From this it follows, that all sacrificial *offerings,* whether bloody or unbloody, must fall under the general denomination, *Mincha.* That it is taken in this large sense by all Lexicographers, Le Clerc (on Lev. ii. 1.) positively asserts. See also *Castell,* and, especially, *Parkhurst,* on the word.

Drusius (on Hebr. xi. 4.) affirms, that it is of greater extent than is commonly admitted. Ainsworth observes (on Lev. ii. 1.) that it "was *generally* any solemn gift, or present, to God, or man: *in special,* a present or sacrifice unto God: *more specially,* an offering of the fruits of the earth." Sykes also (*Essay,* &c. p. 17.) uses the word in the same *general* sense, whilst he admits, that "later use has pretty much confined it to oblations of flour or meal."

How little reason, then, Dr. Kennicott had for introducing so novel and dangerous a criticism, is, I trust, upon the whole sufficiently evident. How inconsistent also it is with the ideas of sacrifice, which he holds in common with the doctrine maintained in these discourses, will appear, when it is considered, that if, in the case of Abel's oblation, the word *Mincha* be supposed to relate, not to the sacrifice of the animal, but solely to

an offering of the fruits with which it was accompanied, it must follow, since God is said to have had respect to his *Mincha*, that it was not the animal sacrifice, but the offering of the fruits, which conciliated the divine regard. And thus the theory which pronounces the *animal sacrifice* to have been originally enjoined, as a type of the great sacrifice of Christ, and which ascribes to this, as the instituted expression of the true faith, the superiority of Abel's offering over that of Cain, is at once overturned. And yet to this very theory it is, that Dr. Kennicott, in his *Dissertation on the Oblations of Cain and Abel*, has given his warmest support.

Perhaps it may not be amiss here, to endeavour to fix the true meaning and value of the sacrificial terms קרבן, מנחה, and זבח, *Corban*, *Mincha*, and *Zebach*: and the more particularly, as their relative force seems not to have been stated with exactness by any late writer. The first of these terms, being derived from קרב, signifies whatever was *brought to God before the altar;* whether dismissed, as the scape-goat; dedicated to the service of the Sanctuary, as the sacred vessels, and the conductors of the sacred rites, the Levites; or offered up, as the sacrifices properly so called, which were consumed at the altar. Again, the *Mincha* was an oblation, which was of the nature of a sacrifice, being *consumed at the altar*, whether it consisted of things animate or inanimate, although, as we have seen, the

Mosaic institution in a good degree narrowed its application; confining it, for the most part, to what is called the *meat-offering*, or, as it should in strictness be denominated, the *bread* or *flour-offering*. And lastly, the *Zebach* was the oblation of an animal *slain* in sacrifice. Thus, *Corban* is the most general term, including all sorts of offerings, or dedications, to God in his temple. *Mincha* is the next in order, applying to those offerings which were consumed at the altar. And *Zebach* is the *species infima* in the scale, relating only to the animal sacrifice.

But to return to Dr. Kennicott, and the immediate subject of this note. His remark on the word πλείων, that it necessarily involves the idea of *number*, becomes now totally inapplicable. The idea of a *double oblation* in the case of Abel, which it was intended to support, has been shewn to be entirely groundless: and, indeed, his observations on the force of the word πλείων itself seem not less so. That "the notion of *number* is included in every application of the word throughout the New Testament," is so far from being true, that numerous passages may be cited, in which no such idea can possibly attach to the word. Thus, in Matt. vi. 25. *Is not the soul more* (πλείων) *than meat?*—and again, xii. 41. *Behold, a greater* (πλείων) *than Jonas is here.* Many other such instances may be seen in Stephanus's Greek Concordance, to which Dr. Kennicott has referred in support of his opinion. But

the true force of the word, both in the positive and the comparative, may be best seen in Schleusner's Lexicon. It will thence appear, that the just value of the expression in the passage in Hebrews has been given in the text: a more *ample*, or *fuller* sacrifice, expressing in emphatical terms, that which partook more *largely* and *essentially* of the true nature and virtue of sacrifice. Vatablus renders the word *uberiorem*.

NO. LXIII.—ON THE NATURE AND GROUNDS OF THE FAITH EVIDENCED BY THE SACRIFICE OF ABEL.

PAGE 50. (r)—FAITH (we are informed by the apostle, Romans x. 17.) *cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.* This account of *Faith*, combined with the numerous examples exhibited in the 11th ch. of Hebrews, in illustration of its nature, can leave us at no loss to pronounce, that Abel's offering was in obedience to a divine revelation. For it must be remarked, that in the several instances, adduced in this chapter, of persons actuated by this exalted principle, the belief of something declared, and a mode of action conformable to that belief, are uniformly exhibited. In like manner, then, as Noah, Abraham, and the rest, are represented as acting in consequence of a divine command,

placing an entire reliance in the promise of him who commanded; so Abel, in the sacrifice which he offered, must be supposed to have acted under the same impression,—believing what God had promised, and therefore sacrificing as God had ordered. Indeed, as Heidegger remarks, the divine revelation was in his case even more necessary, than in any other of those mentioned.

The sacred writer again informs us, at the 13th verse of the same chapter, that Abel and all the others whom he had named *died in faith* (i. e. as Hallet paraphrases it, "retained their faith, until their death, or the time of their leaving the world,") *not having received the promises*, (not having received the completion of them: that being reserved for later times, as is intimated in the concluding part of the chapter, and is clearly expressed in Acts xiii. 32, 33.: *We declare unto you glad tidings, how that* THE PROMISE *which was made unto the* FATHERS, *God hath* FULFILLED *the same* UNTO US THEIR CHILDREN)—*but having seen them afar off; and were persuaded of them, and embraced them.*

Now, that these promises included the *promise of the Messiah*, Kennicott says, is plain: "first, because this is THE PROMISE, peculiarly and emphatically so called throughout Scripture: and secondly, because that the temporal promises, respecting the land of Canaan, cannot alone, if at all, be meant here, as the apostle speaks of *all* the patriarchs, whom he had mentioned in the

beginning of the chapter: and Abraham, who is one of those mentioned, is expressly said to have *sojourned in the land of Promise;* whilst, on the other hand, Abel, Enoch, and Noah (three of the patriarchs included in the word ALL,) had not received the promise of *entering the land of Canaan.* So that *some other* promise, made in the first ages, and frequently repeated, must be that to which the apostle here alludes. And what promise can that be, but *the promise of a future Redeemer* made to Adam?"—the promise, that *the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head:* a promise, which was to be commemorated in the patriarchal and all succeeding sacrifices, *until the seed should come.* Agreeably to this, the Homily on Faith applies this 11th chap. of Hebrews, stating, that holy men of old, although they were not named Christian, yet exercised a Christian faith; seeking, as we do, all the benefits of God the Father, *through the merits of his Son Jesus Christ;* and differing from us only in this, that whereas "they looked *when Christ should come,* we be in the time *when he is come.*"

To the fulfilment of *this promise,* then, was the faith of Abel directed; and the enjoined manifestation of this faith the apostle justifies us in pronouncing to have been the kind of sacrifice which he offered; and which, as being of the true nature of the sacrifice required of the faithful, procured from God that acceptance, and wit-

nessing of his offerings, which was refused to Cain. See *Heideg. Hist. Patr. Exerc.* iii. § 52. tom. i.—*Shuckf. Connect.* vol. i. pp. 86, 87.—*Kennic. Two Dissert.* p. 212—215. and *Edwards's Survey of the various Methods*, pp. 99, 100. See also *Witsius*, (*Misc. Sac.* Lib. II. Diss. ii. § 7—10.) who removes the objections brought by Spencer against the application of this chapter of Hebrews, here contended for; and *Jen. Jew. Ant.* vol. i. p. 57—59. where some excellent remarks are to be found on the difficulty which the mention of *Jephthah*, in the catalogue of distinguished believers, might appear to create.

It must be confessed, that certain commentators, among whom are to be reckoned Grotius, Hammond, Le Clerc, Rosenmüller, and Primate Newcome also, if I rightly understand him, interpret the *promises* alluded to in this chapter as *temporal;* and are consequently reduced to the necessity of confining the expression, οὗτοι πάντες, ALL *these*, in the 13th verse, to *some* of those that had been named; or of referring it to ALL *the descendants of Abraham*, of whom mention had been made in the sentence immediately preceding. Now, it is obvious, as Whitby remarks, that *all* the descendants of Abraham did *not* die in faith: and how, on the other hand, any particular individuals of those before named can be selected by an expression, which comprehends ALL, it is not easy to discover. And if *all*, who

had been before named, are referred to (as is unavoidable), then, as we have already seen, the promises cannot have been temporal, there being some to whom no temporal promises were made, as Abel and Enoch. As to the difficulty arising from the declaration, that the persons enumerated had DIED *in faith*, when it is known that Enoch did *not die*, but was translated; this is easily removed by considering, that the stress in this clause is not laid upon the *death* of those believers, but upon their having *retained their faith through life*, as is well marked in *Hallet*'s paraphrase, quoted in p. 194. of this volume, and in the common use of language would naturally be conveyed in the words here used by the apostle. See *Drusius*, in loc. who supplies several instances of a similar latitude of expression in Scripture. Hallet, Doddridge, and Whitby, deserve to be consulted upon this entire chapter. They furnish a complete answer to the arguments of those who contend for a temporal promise.

I shall only add here an observation of Elsner, on the extravagant eagerness shown by two of these commentators, Grotius and Le Clerc, in defence of the temporal solution. Having remarked, that Le Clerc condemns Hammond, for his *mystical* interpretation of the *city which has foundations*, as implying an everlasting mansion in the heavens; and that he approves of the idea of Grotius, that Jerusalem was the city here intended: he exclaims, "Mira est viri illius τῆ

ὑποθέσει δουλεύοντος imprudentia: quomodo quæso exspectasse illam urbem Abrahamus dicetur, quam post multa demum sæcula posteris suis cessurum noverat a Deo edoctus? — quomodo deinde Deus *conditor* vocabitur *Hierosolymæ terrestris?* — denique infra, v. 16. *cœlum* esse illam urbem apparet, nam *patria cœlestis* vocatur. Simplicius quoque ad Epictetum, cap. xii. p. 77. in morte reperiri τὴν ἀληθινὴν πατρίδα dixit, *de beatis sedibus.*" *Observat. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 367.

NO. LXIV.—ON THE PROBABLE TIME AND OCCASION OF THE INSTITUTION OF SACRIFICE.

PAGE 51. (s) —The event, which, according to the principle of sacrifice maintained in the page here referred to, gave birth to the establishment of the rite, seems obviously to determine the *time* of its institution. The commission of sin, and the promise of a Redeemer, being the grand objects of its reference, no period seems more fit for its appointment, than that, at which Sin first entered, and the promise was first delivered: that is, the period immediately succeeding the fall. And, indeed, the *manner* in which the first sacrifice recorded in Scripture is introduced in the narrative strongly indicates the pre-existence of the rite; the words מִקֵּץ יָמִים, intimating (as Kennicott has shown in the 2d of his *Two Dissertations*, p. 177—183.) a *stated time* for the

performance of this duty: and the whole turn of phrase marking a previous and familiar observance. See *Richie's Peculiar Doctrines*, Part ii. § 42. vol. i. p. 138.

If, then, sacrifice be admitted to have been coeval with the Fall, every argument, which has been adduced to prove that Abel offered sacrifices in obedience to the *divine injunction*, will apply with increased force to show, that Adam must have done the same. Scripture also supplies additional confirmation, by the fact which it relates, of the first pair having been, by the express command of God, clothed with the skins of beasts. Much as some have endeavoured to depreciate the value of this fact, it will be found, when more closely examined, to supply a strong evidence on this head. That the beasts, whose skins were allotted for covering to our first parents, had been slain, it is natural to suppose; as it is not reasonable to think that any animals had died of themselves, so soon after their creation, and without having yet experienced any severities of climate or situation. Now, there were no purposes for which they could have been slain, unless those of food, sacrifice, or covering. That they were not slain for food, has been, it is hoped, sufficiently established in Number LII. Neither can it be admitted, that they were slain merely for covering; since it cannot be supposed, that Adam would, immediately after the sentence of the divine displeasure, have dared to kill God's

creatures without his permission; nor is it likely, that God should order them to be slain solely for their skins, when man could have been supplied with sufficient covering from the hair and wool; and when, the flesh of the animal not being permitted for food, there must have been an unnecessary waste of the creatures. It follows, then, that they had been slain with a view to sacrifice. This alone supplies an adequate reason. The *whole* of the animal (if the offering be supposed an *holocaust*, as there is good reason to concl u all to have been*, until the Mosaic institution) would here be devoted to the uses of religion, except the skin, which would be employed for the purpose of clothing. And even *this* might not be without its moral and religious end, as it might serve to our first parents for a constant memorial of their transgression; of the death which it merited; and of the divine mercy by which that death was withheld. It seems also not unlikely, that from this institution was derived the appointment in Lev. vii. 8. that the priest should have the *skin* of the burnt-offering. See particularly, on the subject of this number, *Kennic. Two Diss.* pp. 67—70. 227, 228. and *Wits. Misc. Sacr.* Lib. II. Diss. ii. § 12.—also *Heideg. Histor. Patr. Exercit.* v. § 16. *Delan. Rev. Exam.* vol. i. diss. viii. p. 99—103. *Barringt. Miscell. Sacr.* vol. iii. pp. 17. 67. *Shuckf.*

* See pp. 177, 178. of this volume; also Number LXVII.

Connect. vol. i. b. 2. pp. 80, 81. and *Patr.* and *Ainsw.* on Gen. iii. 21.

A translation, indeed, has been given of the passage in Gen. iii. 9. which subverts the entire of the argument derived from the *skins* given to the first pair for clothing, by referring the word עור to the skin of Adam and his wife, and reading it in this sense, "that God made for them coats, or coverings of *their* skin." Cloppenburg remarks (*Sacrif. Patriarch. Sch.* p. 13.), that the word עור is *never* to be found in Scripture in any other signification, than that of the *hide of an animal.* Kennicott also concurs in this criticism, with one slight and conjectural exception. But the truth is, there are many exceptions, which these distinguished scholars must have hastily overlooked. Exod. xxxiv. 30., Job x. 11., xix. 20. 26., with others which may be seen in *Cocceius*, *Schindler*, and *Calasio*, and need not be enumerated, supply examples as strong as that which has been noticed by Kennicott, from Exod. xxii. 26. But although the word is in these several instances applied to the *human skin*, yet the form and construction of the passage before us will not admit it here. It is here introduced *absolutely*, and without any of those connecting parts of speech which might mark its relation to the persons spoken of, whilst, in the passages above referred to, the relation is always so pointed out. On the supposition that the human skin is here meant, the last-named passage, viz. Exod.

xxii. 26. exactly corresponds to this, *the raiment for his skin*, in the one, agreeing precisely with the *covering for their skin*, in the other. But there the word has the preposition ל, and the pronoun suffixed to it, לעורו: in like manner, both of these, or at least the suffixed pronoun (עורם), would undoubtedly have been used here, had the skin of *the persons covered* been intended; whereas the word עור is introduced absolute and unconnected. See *Kennic. Two Dissert.* pp. 68, 69. Accordingly the LXX, and all the ancient versions, except the Chaldee, have uniformly rendered the sentence in its present received acceptation.

So little deserving of serious attention did the translation which has been here discussed appear to Dr. Lardner, that, in his *Essay on the Mosaic Account*, &c. (Kippis's edit. vol. xi. pp. 239. 249.) when engaged in a direct examination of the subject, he does not condescend to notice it, at the same time that he observes upon Le Clerc's interpretation, which is scarcely less extraordinary: viz. that the word, כתנות, does not signify *coats*, but *tents*: so that the covering provided for Adam and his wife were not *coats*, but *tents*, *of skins*. In this, however, Le Clerc has nothing to support him but his own ingenuity of invention. The word כתונא, which is exactly the Greek χιτὼν, being *never* used to signify any thing but a garment. And even if it were, it seems rather extraordinary, as Kennicott re-

marks, that God should take care to make a tent or habitation for the first pair *in Paradise*, when, in the very next words, we read of God's turning them *out of Paradise*. This, however, is not the only instance, in which Le Clerc has indulged an arbitrary fancy* in his Comments on Scripture.

NO. LXV. — ON THE TRUE INTERPRETATION OF THE PASSAGE, GEN. IV. 7.† CONTAINING GOD'S EXPOSTULATION WITH CAIN.

PAGE 54. (t) — The plain, natural, and signi-

* Whoever wishes to be satisfied of the levity of Le Clerc's occasional strictures on Scripture, may consult the dissertation of *Witsius*, on the *Author of the Pentateuch*, in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, (tom. i. p. 106—130.) in which he discusses, at considerable length and with much force, the objections urged by Le Clerc against the received opinion that the Pentateuch was the work of Moses. It is true, indeed, that Le Clerc afterwards retraced his steps, and, in the third dissertation of the *Prolegomena* of his commentary on the Old Testament, refuted the several objections which he had himself before advanced. The rashness, however, which, upon so important a subject, could have led to so wild a theory as this writer had set up, in opposition to the suffrage of all antiquity, to the authority of Christ and his Apostles, and to the plain evidence of the thing itself, is not done away, although its mischiefs may be mitigated, by his subsequent recantation. Having made mention of the objections raised against the authenticity of the five books of Moses, I think it right to direct the young reader, in addition to the dissertation of Witsius already noticed, to *Bishop Watson's Apology for the Bible in answer to Paine*, and to *Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch.*

† This text suggests to me the recollection of an error into

ficant interpretation, which in the page here noticed has been given to a part of Scripture, which had long exercised, but to puzzle and perplex, the commentators, was first proposed by the learned Lightfoot (see his *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 1085. 1243.), and has since been adopted by Kennicott (*Two Dissert.* pp. 216, 217.) and Pilkington. (*Remarks*, &c. p. 163.) The use of the word חטאת, *Sin*, for a *Sin-offering*, is so familiar, that it can scarcely be necessary to adduce instances in proof of it. Examples of it may be seen in Exod. xxix. 14. xxx., 10. Levit. iv. 3. 21. 24. 29., vi. 25. 2 Kings xii. 16. Ezek. xlv. 23. Hos. iv. 8., and in numerous other passages. On this idiom, see also what has been

---

which a critic of no small distinction, the Margaret Professor of Divinity, has lately fallen in one of his Lectures delivered from the Professor's chair. In his Tenth Lecture, p. 74., he has both asserted it as a fact, and deduced it as a consequence from a criticism of his upon the word JEHOVAH, that in the Septuagint the word JEHOVAH is never expressed by Θεὸς, but uniformly by Κύριος. Now, the text of Gen. iv. 4. supplies a direct contradiction to this assertion. But it is not only in this text, but in a vast number besides, of which Trommius and Biel supply not a few instances, that we find the word JEHOVAH rendered Θεὸς by the LXX. Nor is this rendering confined to them: among the Jewish interpreters, Aquila in Exod. iv. 24. has done the same. The various fallacious applications of the word Θεὸς, lately attempted by Socinian writers, joined to the authority of Dr. Marsh's name, and the peremptory and unqualified manner in which he has made this erroneous assertion from the chair of a professor, has rendered it unavoidable that this notice should be taken of it.

said in p. 235—241. of the first vol. of this work, and in *Pilkington's Remarks*, pp. 163, 164.

But the translation of the passage here given receives its strongest confirmation from the peculiar force of the word רבץ, which is connected with חטאת, and which strictly implies *couching*, or *lying down as a beast*. For this see *Schindler* and *Castell* on the word. And, indeed, all the commentators have been obliged to admit this sense of the phrase, even whilst they adopted a translation of the passage with which it seems but little consistent: the idea of *Sin* lying *couched* at the door, being, to say the least of it, a *bold* image. Yet in this sense they have been compelled to apply the term. See *Fagius*, *Vatablus*, *Clarius*, *Dathe*, and *Rosenmüller*. But the word *Sin-offering* being substituted for *Sin*, the whole difficulty is removed, and the peculiar propriety of the term employed instantly appears.

There is yet another circumstance of some weight which is remarked by *Parkhurst*, and is also noticed by *Castalio*, *Dathe*, and *Rosenmüller*, although they have not drawn from it the natural inference; namely, that חטאת, which is feminine, is here connected with a word of the masculine gender, רבץ; which, as Parkhurst judiciously observes, is perfectly consistent, on the supposition that חטאת denotes a *Sin-offering*: for then according to a construction common in Hebrew, which refers the adjective not to the

word but to the *thing* understood by it, the masculine רבץ is here combined with the *animal*, which was to be the sin-offering. In conformity with this reasoning it will be found, that חטאת, in other parts of Scripture where it is used for a *Sin-offering*, is, though feminine itself, connected with a masculine adjunct. See Exod. xxix. 14. Levit. iv. 21. 24. v. 9. and other places in Leviticus, where the masculine pronoun הוא is used instead of the feminine היא. But in Gen. xviii. 20. xx. 9. Exod. xxxii. 21. 30. and other places, where the word occurs in its original signification of *Sin*, it has constantly the adjective connected in the *feminine*.

Dr. Geddes was either not aware of this peculiarity, or did not choose to notice it, whilst he laboured so hard in his *Critical Remarks* (p. 54.) to show, that there were no authorities to justify the connecting חטאת a *feminine*, in its ordinary sense of *sin*, with a *masculine* adjunct. He has not taken the like pains to show, that such a connexion is unauthorized, in the application of the word in the sense of *sin-offering*: in which particular application it is, that this anomalous connexion is specially contended for. He has merely contented himself with asserting, (p. 55.) that the rendering the word in *this* sense is liable to the same objections, which he has urged against its application to the sense of *sin*. This he has *asserted*; whilst it will appear, upon a

single glance, that, to every objection which he has advanced, this signification of the term supplies an immediate and satisfactory reply.

The principal difficulty attending the translation of the verse in question has arisen from the apparent want of connexion between the concluding clause and those which go before. If, however, the context be well considered, the connexion becomes clear and convincing. Of Cain, who was filled with rage at the preference given to his brother Abel by the acceptance of *his* sacrifice, whilst his own was rejected, Jehovah demands the reason of his anger: "*If thou doest well* (says he), *shalt thou not be accepted?* (or rather as the margin of our Bible reads, shalt thou not have *the excellency*, or exaltation, above thy brother, which thou conceivest to belong to thy birth-right?) *And if thou doest not well, a sin-offering lieth at thy very door*, to make the due reconciliation, and restore thee to the station which thou hast lost by thy misconduct. So that in either case it depends upon thyself, that he (thy brother) shall be rendered *subject unto thee, and* that *thou shalt have the superiority over him.*" This meaning naturally and spontaneously flows from the literal rendering of the passage as it stands connected. *And the Lord said unto Cain, wherefore art thou wroth*, &c. (with thy brother)? *Is there not, if thou doest well, exaltation; and, if thou doest not well, a sin-offering lying at thy door? And thus he may become sub-*

ject to thee, and thou mayest have the dominion over him. It is apprehended that this, which is an exact translation of the original, affords, in the view of the above paraphrase, a clear, consistent, and satisfactory sense of a part of Scripture which has hitherto caused much trouble to interpreters.

The rendering by the LXX is so very different from this, and from the commonly received translation, that on the first view it would seem to have been derived from a Hebrew original, entirely dissimilar to that, which we at present possess. It therefore will not be unacceptable to the curious reader, to show how the Greek translators must have considered the text, in order to have derived from it a sense apparently so foreign from its import. They render it thus; Οὐκ ἐὰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλῃς, ἥμαρτες; ἡσύχασον· πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἀποστροφὴ αὐτῶ, καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις αὐτῶ: or, as in some of Holmes's various readings, — ἐπιστροφὴ αὐτῶ, καὶ σὺ αὐτῶ ἄρξῃς. *Though you may have rightly offered, yet if you have not rightly divided, have you not sinned? Be at rest. To you shall he submit himself, and you shall rule over him.* Now, if in the original, תיטיב שאת be construed in connexion, making שאת the infinitive mood, and expressing by תיטיב the *mode* in which the action denoted by that infinitive was performed; and if, in like manner, the words תיטיב לפתח be made to coalesce, whilst פתח is interpreted in the sense of

dividing; if חטאת be considered as a verb, and רבץ also as a verb, with a stop preceding and following it; — the sense affixed by the Septuagint may be elicited. For then תיטיב שאת may be rendered ὀρθῶς προσενέγκῃς; and תיטיב לפתח, ὀρθῶς διέλῃς. חטאת also may be rendered by ἥμαρτες, and רבץ by ἡσύχασον. All this, however, it must be remembered, is to be considered rather possible than natural. For although the infinitive certainly admits such a connexion with the verb תיטיב, as to imply the *doing well** that which is expressed by the infinitive, yet the use of the verb שאת for *offering sacrifice*, and of פתח for *dividing*, can scarcely be said to be authorized by any passages in Scripture. Indeed that פתח should admit the sense of *dividing*, it ought to be written פתחת, unless we suppose the word to be taken in the sense of *freely sharing, or imparting* (which פתח is not incapable of expressing), and that thence the Greek translators felt themselves justified in extending it to the above signification. As for רבץ, also, it is only by a considerable latitude of figurative application that it can be interpreted as in the Greek; its literal meaning being that of *lying down as an animal*. So that, upon the whole, the version by the LXX is rather to be defended than approved: whilst the translation by Jerome,

* Of this construction, Prov. xxx. 29., Psal. xxxiii. 3., Isai. xxiii. 16., Ezek. xxxiii. 32., and many other parts of Scripture, supply instances.

and still more that by Theodotion, presents a view of the passage much more natural as well as grammatical.

Jerome's translation runs thus, "Nonne si bene egeris, demittetur tibi? Et si non bene egeris, ante fores peccatum tuum sedebit? Et ad te societas ejus: sed tu magis dominare ejus." (*Quæst. Hebr. in Genes.*) And this, again, is thus modified in the Roman Vulgate:—"Nonne si bene egeris, recipies? Sin autem male, statim in foribus peccatum aderit? Sed sub te erit appetitus ejus, et tu dominaberis illius." In both of these the sense is nearly the same as that in our common English Bibles; except that the last clause is applied by the followers of the Vulgate, not to *Abel*, but to the *sin* just before spoken of, and is interpreted as pronouncing on the full dominion of man over his sinful desires, and asserting the uncontrolled freedom* of his will. The Romish writers adduce Jerome's paraphrase† on the text, as clearly proving this to have been his view; and also refer to the authority of Augustine, who specifically argues the point thus, "Tu dominaberis illius; nunquid fratris? absit.

* Erasmus (*Hyperaspist. Diatrib.* ii. § 96.) cites the passage thus: "Sub te erit appetitus tuus, et tu dominaberis illius:" and from this unauthorized reading he deduces an argument in opposition to Luther, on the free will of man.

† In his *Questions on Genesis* he thus explains the text: "Quod si male egeris, illico peccatum ante vestibulum sedebit, et tali janitore comitaberis: verum, quia liberi arbitrii es, moneo ut non tibi peccatum, sed tu peccato domineris."

Cujus igitur nisi *peccati ?*" On these authorities, together with that of the Jerusalem Targum, the Doway* translators ground a triumph over the

* *Ernesti*, in his *Institutio Interpretis Novi Testamenti*, p. 79., exclaims, "Quam multi errores orti sunt in Ecclesiâ ex linguæ Hebraicæ ignorantiâ! Doctrina de purgatorio, pœnitentia, fide, bonis operibus, et aliæ, ex Augustino quidem et versione Vulgatâ proferri quidem, sed adseri et defendi non possunt contra interpretem linguæ Hebraicæ gnarum."—Other reasons, however, very different from mere ignorance of the Hebrew language, have been assigned for the errors in Scripture interpretation, imputable to the advocates of the Church of Rome. *Father Paul* informs us, in one of his Letters, (Letter 25.) that the Pope, complaining of Fra. Fulgentio, said, "that preaching of the Scriptures is a suspicious thing; and that he, who keeps close to the Scriptures, will ruin the Catholic faith." And, again (Letter 26.), the Pope is made to say of him, "that, indeed, he made some good Sermons, but bad ones withal: and that he insisted too much upon Scripture; which is a book, to which if any keep close, he will quite ruin the Catholic faith."—And indeed, that the Pope had reason to complain of Fra. Fulgentio's sermons, must be admitted, when we find from *Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedell* (p. 119.), that that father, in preaching on the words, *Have ye not read?* took occasion to tell the auditory, that if Christ were now to ask this question, all the answer they could make to it would be; *No, for they were not suffered to do it:* and thence proceeded to remonstrate, with the most animated zeal, against the restraint put on the use of the Scripture by the See of Rome.

In a work, which, within a few years, has obtained the most distinguished mark of approbation, from the highest and most learned society of a nation holding communion with the church of Rome, we meet with a detailed statement of those causes which have disqualified the votaries of that Church for the task of Scripture interpretation. After an enumeration of the advantages, derived to the literature and civilisation of Christendom, from religious houses, as depositaries of

heretical (Protestant) versions, whose object in referring the clause to *Abel* and not to *sin*, they

---

the remains of ancient learning, the author thus proceeds.—"If the Churchmen preserved in this manner the faint tradition of knowledge, it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that in their hands it more than once became dangerous, and was converted by its guardians to pernicious purposes. The domination of Rome, built upon a scaffolding of false historical proofs, had need of the assistance of those faithful auxiliaries, to employ on the one side their half knowledge to fascinate men's eyes, and on the other to prevent those eyes from perceiving the truth, and from becoming enlightened by the torch of criticism. The local usurpations of the Clergy, in several places, were founded on similar claims, and had need of similar means for their preservation. It followed, therefore, both that the little knowledge permitted should be mixed with error, and that the nations should be carefully maintained in profound ignorance, favourable to superstition. Learning, as far as possible, was rendered inaccessible to the laity. The study of the ancient languages was represented as idolatrous and abominable. Above all, the reading of the holy Scriptures, that sacred inheritance of all Christians, was severely interdicted. To read the Bible, without the permission of one's superiors, was a crime: to translate it into the vulgar tongue would have been a temerity worthy of the severest punishment. The Popes had, indeed, their reasons for preventing the word of Jesus Christ from reaching the people, and a direct communication from being established between the Gospel and the Christian. When it becomes necessary to keep in the shade objects as conspicuous as faith and public worship, it behoved the darkness to be universal and impenetrable." *Villers's Essay on the Reformation of Luther*, p. 88—90. The same writer, in another place, thus contrasts the characters of the Protestant and Romish Churches, as to their grounds of assent to sacred truths.—"The Church of Rome said, 'Submit, without examination, to authority?' The Protestant Church said, 'Examine, and submit only to thy own conviction.' The one commanded

conceive to be that of escaping from the doctrine of free will; for the hostility to which doctrine,

---

men to believe blindly: the other taught them, with the Apostle, to reject the bad, and choose only that which is good." Ibid. p. 294.—And when the Church of Rome was, at length, obliged by the necessities of self-defence, to grant to her faithful sons the privilege of theological investigation, in what way does the same writer represent the system of studies permitted for this purpose? The theology of the Romanist, and that of the Protestant, he describes, as "two worlds in opposite hemispheres, which have nothing common except the name."—"The Catholic theology rests on the inflexible authority of the decisions of the Church, and therefore debars the man who studies it from all free exercise of his reason. It has preserved the jargon, and all the barbarous appendages of the Scholastic philosophy. We perceive in it the work of darkness of the monks of the tenth century. In short, the happiest thing which can befall him who has unfortunately learned it, is speedily to forget it. The Protestant theology, on the contrary, rests on a system of examination, on the unlimited use of reason. The most liberal exegesis opens for it the knowledge of sacred antiquity; criticism, that of the history of the Church; it regards the doctrinal part, reduced to purity and simplicity, as only the body of religion, the positive form which it requires; and it is supported by philosophy in the examination of the laws of nature, of morality, and of the relations of men to the Divine Being. Whoever wishes to be instructed in history, in classical literature, and philosophy, can choose nothing better than a course of Protestant theology."—Ibid. p. 307, 308.—Such are the observations contained in a work which has been distinguished by a prize, conferred by the National Institute of France.

Perhaps one of the most decisive proofs of the justice of this writer's remarks on the state of sacred literature in the Romish Church has been supplied by the late republication, in this country, of that wretched specimen of Scripture criticism, *Ward's Errata.* This powerless offspring of a feeble parent, which was supposed to have perished when it first

entertained by the first Reformers, they are branded by these translators with the title of

---

saw the light above a century ago, has lately, upon signs of re-animation, been hailed in Ireland with shouts of joy. And the meagre abstract of *Gregory Martin's Discovery of the manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures*, a work which has itself lain for two hundred years overwhelmed by confutation, has been received by the Romanists, of this part of the Empire, with a gratulation that might well become the darkest ages of the Church. A work, condemning the Protestant translation of the Bible for using the term *messenger* instead of *angel* (in Mal. ii. 7., iii. 1., Mat. xi. 10., Luke vii. 27, &c.), by which the character of *angel* is withdrawn from the *priesthood*, and of a *sacrament* from *orders*:—for not rendering the words (in Hebr. xi. 21.), προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ, as the Rhemish does, *adored the top of his rod*, and thereby surreptitiously removing one of the principal Scripture arguments for *image worship*:—for, ascribing to the word פֶּסֶל, in the second commandment, the meaning *graven image*, whilst the Rhemish renders it *graven thing*, which, with those who admit an *image* not to be a *thing*, will exempt *images* from the prohibition of the commandment:—for not giving to the words μετάνοια and *pœnitentia*, the sense of *penance*, but merely assigning to them their true interpretation, *repentance*, and thus doing wilful despite to the *sacrament* of *penance*:—a work, I say, condemning the Protestant translations of the Bible for these, and some other *such* errors; and in all cases *demonstrating* the error by one and the same irrefragable proof,—that the Romish version is the true one, and that the Protestant version which differs from it must *consequently* be false,—is certainly not such a one, as might, in the nineteenth century, be expected to be raked up by the clergy of a widely extended communion, and exhibited triumphantly as a master-piece of critical erudition. In the opinion of many, this miserable performance did not deserve an answer; especially as every argument which it contained, had been in former times repeatedly confuted. Perhaps, however, they judged more rightly, who thought, that even the weak-

Manichees. (See the *Doway Bible* on Gen. iv. 7.)

To these Romish Doctors I leave a Romish Doctor to reply. Dr. Geddes, in his *Critical Remarks*, pp. 54, 55., has endeavoured to show that Jerome's version, or that of the Vulgate, cannot be maintained. He has not, however, adduced the arguments which bear most strongly against their interpretation; namely, those which apply to the mistranslation of the concluding clause of the seventh verse, and to the violence offered even to that mistranslation in pronouncing that Cain having sinned should acquire dominion over his sinful desires, which is as much as to say, that by yielding to sin a man acquires the

---

est reasonings should be exposed, lest they might be imagined to be strong; and that even the most hacknied arguments should be replied to, lest they might be conceived to be new. Accordingly, this work received an answer from Dr. Ryan, whose zealous exertions in the cause of religious truth are well known, and is about to receive another from The Rev. Richard Grier, of Middleton. These gentlemen, at all events, display courage in their enterprise, since the author whom they attack, backed by the whole Council of Trent, has pronounced, that whoever shall not receive the books of Scripture, *as they are read in the Catholic* (Romish) *Church, and as they are in the Vulgate Latin edition, shall be* ACCURSED. *Errata*, p. 37.

Mr. Grier's work has been published since the date of the above observation in the third edition of this work: and, by the ability with which it has been executed, seems to have completely silenced the battery which had been just opened upon the received English translation of the Scriptures.

power of controlling it. But too much has been said upon Romish exposition.*

* How little entitled the orthodox member of the *Romish* Church is, at this day, to expect serious consideration in the walks of sacred criticism, may be inferred (in addition to what has been said in the last note) from the description given of him by a Doctor of his own communion. "The vulgar papist rests his faith on the supposed infallibility of his church, although he knows not where that infallibility is lodged, nor in what it properly consists: it is to him a general, vague, indefinite idea, which he never thinks of analysing. He reads in his catechism, or is told by his catechist, that *the Church cannot err in what she teaches;* and then he is told, that this unerring church is composed only of those who hold communion with the Bishop of Rome, and precisely believe as he and the bishops who are in communion with him believe. From that moment reason is set aside; authority usurps its place, and implicit faith is the necessary consequence. He dares not even advance to the first step of Des Cartes's logic; he dares not doubt: for in his table of sins, which he is obliged to confess, he finds *doubting in matters of faith* to be a grievous crime." Such is Dr. Geddes's account of him whom he is pleased to call *the vulgar papist;* under which title he, in truth, means to include all who are sincere votaries of the Church of Rome, and whom that church would acknowledge as such: in other words, he means by this term to designate all who are actually within the pale of Popery.

And let it not be supposed that this is the testimony of an enemy in the disguise of a friend; and that the author, whilst he assumed the name of *Catholic*, was influenced by the feelings of a Protestant. On the contrary, it is manifest from the following passage that his mind remained under the powerful influence of Romish impression, and that he continued still a partisan of that faith whose errors he affected to decry. For, says he, "Is the faith of the vulgar Protestant better founded? He rests it on a book called the Holy Bible, which he believes to be the infallible word of God."—And

I come now to the translation by Theodotion, which, as it appears to me, does perfect justice to the original, and with which the version which I have proposed entirely coincides. Οὐκ, ἂν ἀγαθῶς ποίῃς, δεκτὸν; καὶ ἂν μὴ ἀγαθῶς ποίῃς, ἐπὶ θύρας ἁμαρτία ἐγκάθηται· καὶ πρός σε ὁρμὴ αὐτῆ, καὶ ἄρξεις αὐτῆ. Here is an agreement in all its parts with the rendering which has been submitted; the force of ἁμαρτία, like that of חטאת, extending to the *sin-offering*; ἐγκάθηται, as well as רבץ, denoting the *posture of an animal*; and αὐτῆ the masculine decidedly marking, that the

---

thus he pronounces the faith of the Protestant and of the Papist to be alike implicit and alike unfounded. "If the instructor of the Protestant be asked how he knows that the book which he puts into the hand of his catechumen is the infallible word of God, he cannot, like the *Priest*, appeal to an unerring church; he acknowledges no such guide: and *yet it is hard to conceive what other better argument he can use.*"—He goes on even to pronounce, that "in the Popish controversy, the Romanists have, on this point, the better side of the question; called, by some of their controversialists, *the question of questions.*" And in what way does their superiority appear upon this question of questions? By "its never having been satisfactorily solved by the Romanists themselves: they having always reasoned in what is termed a vicious circle; *proving the infallibility of the Church from the authority of Scripture, and the authority of Scripture from the Church's infallibility.*" (Preface to *Critical Remarks*, p. v.) This must undoubtedly have given the Romanists *the better side of the question*; for what Protestant logician could successfully reply to such an argument? But the reader must be weary of this fatuity.

reference in the last clause was, not to ἁμαρτία* but to Abel. See *Theodot. apud Montefalc.*

Grotius has given the passage somewhat of a different turn, and yet departs but little from the meaning which has been here assigned. He considers the force of the *si bene egeris*, as carried down to the concluding clause, so as to make the sense this: "If thou doest well, Abel as the younger shall be rendered subject to thy authority." And so makes the clause beginning with, "If thou doest not well," &c. parenthetical; of which, he says, innumerable instances are to be found in the Hebrew Scriptures. This mode of translating the passage has been adopted by Purver in his English version; and it is certainly not unworthy of commendation. At the same time, I cannot but think the view of the sentence, which I have offered to the reader, more grammatical, more consistent, and more natural.†

* That is, to ἁμαρτία, in the sense of *sin*; in which sense alone it is, that it has been by some made the subject of reference, in opposition to *Abel*. In the sense of *sin-offering*, it would, as we have seen, admit the *masculine* pronoun αὐτῆ: but to the word, taken in that sense, the reference of the pronoun would have no meaning.

† The note of Ludov. de Dieu on this passage deserves to be noticed. "*An non, sive bene offeras, sive non bene, ad ostium peccatum cubat?* Quum scilicet, indigne ferret Cain, fratris sacrificium suo esse prælatum, quod non minus recte sacrificiorum ritus observasset fratre, neque quicquam, sive quoad rem oblatam, sive quoad externam offerendi rationem ac ceremoniam, dignius a fratre ac melius profectum esset, monet

NO. LXVI.—ON THE COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SACRIFICE OF ABEL AND THAT OF CHRIST.

PAGE 54. (ʸ) — Dr. Richie judiciously observes, on this passage of Hebrews, that "it makes the sacrifice of Abel to have been of the *piacular* kind, by the comparison which it makes between the effect of it and that of the sacrifice of Christ, which without doubt *was* of the piacular kind. For, unless these two sacrifices had been of the same kind, and productive of similar effects, such a comparison could not have been made, nor the *effect* of the one pronounced to have been better, or much greater, than the *effect* of the other: causes of a different nature producing effects of a dissimilar kind: and between effects of a dissimilar kind, no such

---

Deus, non esse hic ipsam oblationem respiciendam, recte ne ea secundum legem scilicet cerimonialem facta sit, an secus: sed personam offerentem, dedita ne ea sit peccato, an non. Tu peccatum perpetuo circumfers, illudque in procinctu habes, cubans quippe ante fores: itaque nihil refert, bene ne an male secundum rites legales offeras. Vel optima tua oblatio a peccato vitiatur. Non debebat appetitus tuus ferri ad peccatum, sed peccati appetitus ad te, sicut mulieris appetitus ad maritum cui subest, tuque ei dominari. — Posset etiam verti, *An non sive pulchrum quid adferas, sive non pulchrum,*" &c. — *Animadv. in Vet. Test.* p. 13. — These interpretations possess much ingenuity: but are liable to the grammatical objection already urged, of taking חַטָּאת, in the sense of *sin*, in the masculine gender.

comparison as that here made being admissible." *Peculiar Doctrines of Revelation,* Part II. § xlii. p. 138.

NO. LXVII.—ON THE NATURE OF SACRIFICE BEFORE THE LAW: TENDING TO SHOW ITS CONFINEMENT TO ANIMAL SACRIFICE, EXCEPT IN THE CASE OF CAIN.

PAGE 55. (w)—From the time of Abel's sacrifice to the giving of the law, we find the sacrificial offering described by no other appellation than that of עלה or זבח, the *holocaust* or burnt-offering, and the *Zebach* or immolated victim. Thus we see the *former* expression used of the sacrifice of Noah in Gen. viii. 20., and again repeatedly applied to the sacrifice of Abraham in the 22d chapter. It is also employed by Moses in speaking of sacrifices to Pharaoh, in Exod. x. 25. and again in describing the offerings of Jethro, xviii. 12. The oblations of Job likewise (Job i. 5.) and of his friends (xlii. 7, 8.) are so denominated: as are those of Balaam, in the 23d ch. of Numbers. In the numerous other instances of the mode of worship by sacrifice, which occur in this early period, the expression used is either זבח, or, where the *sort* of sacrifice is not exactly specified, a word immediately derived from and clearly implying it, מזבח, which, though translated generally by us an

Altar, and being sometimes applied to that on which *Incense* was presented, cannot, as Sykes remarks (*Essay*, p. 246.), when used absolutely, and in its strict sense, be otherwise understood, than as signifying "that on which *slain animals* were offered."

Doctor Richie, indeed, not only maintains that none but *animal sacrifices* were offered from the time of Cain to the promulgation of the law, but that all during that period were none other than *holocausts*, or *burnt-offerings;* the *Zebach*, or slain animal, having been uniformly offered up in that manner: and that, consequently, *all* the sacrifices of this early period were *piacular*. In this last position Sykes concurs, so far as to allow, that "all holocausts before the days of Moses were *deprecations* of wrath;" and he admits also, that, from the time of Abel until that of Jacob, there is no instance of any other sacrifice than the *burnt-offering*. But from his peculiar notions concerning the nature of sacrifice he is led to contend, that the sacrifice of Jacob, and those of Moses and Jethro, included a *peace-offering*, although he confesses, that in no one instance is there any mention expressly made of *peace-offerings* before the law.

The circumstances, on which Sykes grounds his opinion, are—1. The introduction of the word זבח: which is of no weight, because nothing prevents the *Zebach* from having been an *holocaust*.—2. The mention of the *eating of Bread*

at the time of the sacrifice: from which no inference can be drawn respecting the nature of the sacrifice, as we have already seen in Number XLIX.—and, 3. The mention of both the *Zebach* and the *Holocaust*, in the cases of Moses and Jethro, in Exod. x. 25. and xviii. 12.: to which Richie has satisfactorily replied, by showing that the particle ו, is to be taken, not in the sense of *and*, but in that of *even*. Indeed Dr. Richie deserves particularly to be consulted on the whole of this subject. See *Pecul. Doctr.* Part II. § 42—49. vol. i. p. 137—144. See also *Sykes's Essay*, p. 231—251.; where, if allowance be made for the author's peculiar bias on the subject of sacrifice, considerable support will be found for the principal part of Dr. Richie's positions. But, whether Dr. Richie be well founded or not in his opinion, that *all* the oblations prior to the law, excepting that of Cain, were *holocausts*, this, at least, *must* be admitted, that they were *animal sacrifices*: more than which, the present argument does not require.

Josephus, it is to be observed, expressly describes the holocaust offered by Noah, as a sacrifice of deprecation. He states that this patriarch, under a persuasion that God had doomed mankind to destruction, and through terror of the repetition of the dreadful judgment he had so lately witnessed, offered up prayers and sacrifices to God, to *turn away his wrath*. *Antiq. Jud.* Lib. I. cap. iv. This testimony of the Jewish

Historian, as to the received notions of the nature of sacrifice in his day, the reader will please to add to those which have been adduced in Number XXXIII., in reply to Dr. Priestley's remarks upon that head. It will most naturally fall in at p. 274. vol. i.

NO. LXVIII.—ON THE DISPROPORTION BETWEEN THE EFFECTS OF THE MOSAIC AND THE CHRISTIAN SACRIFICES.

PAGE 60. (x) — On this subject particular attention should be paid to the observations in Numbers XXXI. XXXIV. XXXVI. and XXXVII.; especially to those contained in pp. 248, 249. and pp. 340—343. of the first volume.

The following elucidation by the learned Grotius, whose unbiassed reflections are always valuable, deserves to be noticed.—Lex vetus dupliciter spectatur: aut carnaliter, aut spiritualiter. Carnaliter, quâ instrumentum fuit πολιτείας, *reipublicæ Judaicæ.* Spiritualiter, quâ σκιὰν εἶχε τῶν μελλόντων, *umbram habebat futurorum.* Hebr. x. 1. Quod ad priorem considerationem attinet, sacrificia Legis expiatoria sanctificabant ad carnis puritatem, Heb. ix. 13.—Deus enim Rex Hebræorum (quoniam Legislatori licet suam legem, præsertim pœnalem, nonnihil relaxare) in *quibusdam* delictis victimas expiatorias admisit vice

ipsius peccatoris, et per illas ac non aliter peccatorem a mortis pœna (quæ juxta carnalem sensum erat sanctio Legis) liberare voluit.—In *quibusdam* ergo delictis; quod ad pœnam carnalem attinebat, admittebatur placamen, redemptio, satisfactio, compensatio denique mortis bestiæ cum morte hominis alioqui debitâ.—Victimæ pro peccato ita in Veteri Fœdere peccata expiarunt; nimirum Deum movendo, ut pœnam carnalem remitteret, idque per satisfactionem quandam.

Quod autem typi præstiterunt carnaliter, hoc ὁ ἀντίτυπος, *exemplar*, Christus præstat spiritualiter; et quod typi in quibusdam duntaxat delictis, id Christus in omnibus, Deum scilicet movendo, ut spiritualem pœnam remittat, idque per satisfactionem perfectissimam. Plus enim, non minus semper est in re typo designatâ, quam in typo; ut ratio monstrat. Commune est sacrificio expiatorio legali et sacrificio Christi illud, quod sine sanguinis effusione non fit remissio, Hebr. ix. 22. Hanc impetrationem remissionis per sanguinem ibidem divinus scriptor appellat modo ἁγιασμὸν, *sanctificationem* (13.) modo καθαρισμὸν, *expiationem* (14, 22, 23.). Sed in Veteri Lege victimæ erant pecudes (12.), in hâc nostrâ Christus ipse non sacerdos tantum, sed et victima (14, 26.) Legalis illa expiatio hujus cœlestis sive spiritualis ὑπόδειγμα (23.) et ἀντίτυπου*, *exemplar* (24.) quo-

* Grotius has here used the word *antitype* improperly, and in a sense directly opposite to that in which he has just before properly applied the term.

modo? Quia illa præstabat carni munditiem (14,) id est, reatus ablationem, non autem spiritui sive conscientiæ (9,) hæc autem ipsi conscientiæ (14.) Quia quod in Veteri Lege erat mors temporalis, hoc in Novo Fœdere est mors æterna, Hebr. x. 29.: ac proinde illic liberatio erat temporalis, hic vero αἰώνιος λύτρωσις, *æterna redemptio*, Hebr. ix. 12. Quare sicut eodem loco ab effectu legalis victimæ ad effectum hujus per spiritum oblatæ argumentum producitur, *Quanto magis*, &c. sic et nobis licet hunc in modum certissime argumentari, *Victima legalis reatum carnalem sustulit, Deum movendo ad remissionem; ergo multo magis reatum spiritualem, Deum itidem ad remissionem movendo, tollit oblata per spiritum victima.*— *Grotii Opera Theolog.* tom. iv. pp. 331—333.

The principles from which Grotius has derived his conclusion are manifestly these. 1. That the expiation wrought by the sacrifices under the Law were typical of that effected by the death of Christ: 2. That in every type there must be something of the same general nature with that which is contained in the thing typified: and 3. That, combined with this general correspondence between the type and the thing prefigured, there should exist that disproportion which might be expected between the shadow and the substance.

These principles, indeed, are so clearly and unequivocally laid down by the apostle in his epistle to the Hebrews, that even the great

fathers of the Socinian school, Faustus Socinus and Crellius, admit their evidence, and differ from Grotius only in the application. In establishing the *correspondence*, and the *disproportion*, of the Mosaic and the Christian expiation, they urge the reasoning of the apostle no less forcibly than Grotius has done; as may be seen in the treatise of Socinus *De Jes. Christ. Serv.* (*Opera*, tom. ii. pp. 157, 158.) and in Crellius's *Respons. ad Grot.* (*Opera*, tom. i. p. 204—211.) These expositors, not having been initiated into the convenient artifice, so familiar to their followers, of rejecting the authority of an apostle when it made against them, found themselves compelled by the plain language of Scripture to acknowledge the validity of these principles.

The nature of their system, however, being at variance with their admission, they were led to strain one principle to an extreme subversive of the other; and, by urging *disproportion* within the confines of *dissimilitude*, they were enabled to escape the bearings of that *correspondence* of the two dispensations, which forms the foundation of the apostle's argument, and for which they had themselves in the first instance strenuously contended. For whilst, in professing to represent the expiation by the sacrifice of Christ as of a superior order to that effected by the sacrifices of the law, they endeavour to establish this by such a description of its nature, as divests

it of every character which the Mosaic sacrifice possessed, they in truth show, that the death of Christ bore no relation whatever to those sacrifices by which they admit it to have been typified: that is, in other words, they make the Mosaic sacrifices at the same time typical and not typical of the death of Christ.—See this point well treated, though in a different manner, by Stillingfleet, in his *Discourse concerning the true Reasons*, &c. p. 365—367.

On another fallacy in the reasoning of the above writers it is also necessary to remark. Whilst they profess faithfully to follow the apostle's reasoning in his address to the Hebrews, they represent the expiation of the legal sacrifice as wholly typical; whereas it was not less real and effectual under its own proper system, than the sacrifice of Christ was under that by which it was succeeded; whilst at the same time it prefigured that more important expiation, which was to be introduced under the new dispensation; all the parts of which, the apostle distinctly informs us, had their corresponding circumstances in that which went before.

Upon the whole, then, briefly to sum up the present subject.—The people of the Jews being placed under a peculiar polity, whereby they stood at the same time in a civil and ritual relation to their divine Governor; their offences in these several relations exposed them to the inflictions appropriate to each. The mercy of

the Legislator at the same time provided for them the means of expiation by sacrifice, whereby, in certain cases, the corporal punishment incurred by the violation of the civil law, and the legal impurities contracted by the neglect of the ritual institutions, might be done away. The entire system, however, being but preparatory for another by which it was to be superseded, was constituted in all its essential parts in such a manner as to be emblematical of that which it was intended to introduce; and the several parts of the one were, consequently, adjusted by the same proportions which were to obtain in the other.

Hence it follows, that the sacrifices under the temporal and ceremonial dispensation of the Law had a real efficacy in releasing those who were subjected to it from its temporal penalties and ceremonial disqualifications; in like manner as the one great Sacrifice under the Gospel possesses the power to release mankind at large from the everlasting penalties of that spiritual law under which all men are bound, and to cleanse the conscience from those moral impurities which forbid all access to that holy Being, who is to be worshipped only in spirit and in truth. The expiation, then, under the old law, was no less real than that which it prefigured under the new, whilst it bore to the dispensation of which it was a part, the same proportion which that more perfect expiation by the death of Christ bears to the

more perfect dispensation to which it appertains; the wisdom of the divine contrivance, in this as in the other branches of providential arrangement, rendering that which was complete and effectual for its own immediate purpose, at the same time introductory and subservient to other and more important objects.

Berriman, in treating of the typical interpretation of the Law, although leaning a little too much to the notion of its being merely symbolical, places the parallelism and proportion of the two dispensations in a just and satisfactory light. "From what" (he asks) "was the offender delivered by the legal sacrifices? Was it not from the temporal death, and the danger of being cut off from the congregation? And to what privilege was he restored or entitled? Was it not to the privilege of appearing before God, and joining in the public worship? What was the purifying or sanctification consequent upon such atonements? Was it not (as the apostle styles it) *the purifying of the flesh*; an outward and a transient efficacy, which could not reach to *purge their consciences from dead works?* And why was all this necessary to be often repeated, but because it had no solid or permanent effect, nor deserved to find acceptance of itself? But if we take it in a symbolical or typical point of view, then it leads us to acknowledge the benefit of Christ's redemption, and those invaluable privileges he has purchased for us. That temporal

death, which was denounced by the Law, will denote that everlasting punishment to which sinners are exposed as such. The legal impurity, which wanted to be cleansed, will denote the defilement and impurity of sin. The outward admission to the service of the temple, will denote our spiritual privilege of access unto God, as well in the present ordinances of his church, as in the future inheritance of his eternal kingdom. And all this being performed by the oblation of *sacrifices*, clean and perfect in their kind, will import our being *redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot; who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, for a sweet-smelling savour, and entered not into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself, that true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched, and not man*, there to plead the merit of his sacrifice, and *make for ever intercession for us.*" — *Boyle Lecture Sermons*, vol. iii. pp. 776, 777.

On the subject of this Number in general, there are some excellent remarks of Bishop Stillingfleet, to be found in his *Discourse concerning the True Reasons*, &c. p. 315—318.

NOTE LXIX. — ON THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE SACRIFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THAT EMPLOYED IN THE NEW, TO DESCRIBE REDEMPTION BY THE DEATH OF CHRIST; AND THE ORIGINAL ADAPTATION OF THE FORMER TO THE SUBJECT OF THE LATTER.

PAGE 61. (y) — If, indeed, it be considered, that the sacrifice of Christ was the great object held in view in the appointment of all preceding sacrifices, and that *these* were primarily designed as sacramental representations of *that*, it will follow, that in reference to *it* must the sacrificial terms have been originally framed; and that, therefore, when applied by the Apostles to the death of Christ, they were adopted, not merely as being familiar to the Jews from their application to the sin-offerings under the law, but because of their original adaptation to this *one great* Sacrifice, in *consequence* of which they had been applied to the legal sacrifices ordained to represent it. For some valuable observations on this subject, see *Holmes's Four Tracts*, pp. 102, 103.

If this view of the matter be just, it then follows, that so far were the writers of the New Testament from employing the sacrificial terms in mere accommodation to Jewish notions, (an argument much insisted on by Dr. Priestley, H. Taylor, and others, see pp. 30, 31. and p. 247

—251. of the first volume,) that they must have used them as *primarily* belonging to the death of Christ, and as in strict accuracy more aptly characterizing the Christian sacrifice, than those sacrifices of typical import to which they had been applied under the law. From this also it might be expected, that a *fuller* light would now be thrown upon the nature of the Jewish sacrifice; and the true force and value of the sacrificial ceremonies and phrases be more perfectly understood. And this we find to be the case; the language of the New Testament on the subject of atonement being more precise and significant than that of the old. Instances of this may be seen in pp. 348. 385, 386. of the first volume, and are not denied by the opponents of the doctrine of Atonement, as has been already observed in the places referred to. Thus, then, we find the Old Testament and the New bestowing mutual elucidation, on this head: the rites and terms of sacrifice in the Old exemplifying and describing the leading principles and fundamental notions of atonement; and the more exact and perfect delineation of it in the New filling up the outline, and exhibiting the great work of our Redemption, in its genuine magnitude and beauty.

The train of reflection pursued in this Number leads me naturally to notice the opinions of Archbishop Tillotson, as connected with its subject. Nor is it without much regret, that I find

myself compelled to notice, for the express purpose of marking with condemnation, the opinions of a prelate, whose great talents and virtues have combined to shed so bright a lustre on the annals of the English church. This distinguished writer*, having been forcibly impressed with the many visible traces of the doctrines and truths of revelation discoverable in the mythology and

* So highly was Tillotson esteemed as a *writer* by the celebrated Locke, that, in his treatise *Concerning Reading and Study for a Gentleman*, he specifically recommends the constant perusal of the works of that prelate, as a most useful exercise for the student who is desirous to acquire the talent of *perspicuity*. So very highly, indeed, did that most excellent judge of whatever is requisite to clearness of expression, rate the Archbishop's endowments in this particular, that he has joined with him but one other writer in the English language, as exhibiting a just model for the acquisition of a perspicuous style. That writer is *Chillingworth*, whom he commends also for attainments of yet higher value.—"Besides perspicuity" (he says) "there must be also right reasoning; without which, perspicuity serves but to expose the speaker. And for the attaining of this, I should propose the constant reading of Chillingworth, who, by his example, will teach both perspicuity and the way of right reasoning, *better than any book that I know*; and therefore will deserve to be read upon that account *over and over again*; not to say any thing of his argument."—*Locke's Works*, vol. iv. p. 601.

Why I have so readily availed myself of the opportunity, afforded by this honourable testimony, of presenting *Chillingworth* to the more immediate notice of the student, at *this* period, and in *this* country, will not be difficult, upon reflection, to discover.—Quære: Are Tillotson, and Chillingworth, and writers of that manly stamp, those with whom the youth of the present day are most solicitous to converse, for the improvement of their reasoning and their style?

worship of the Heathen world, was led to conclude, with a rashness little to be expected from such a man, that the Christian religion, whilst it was in its substance a most perfect institution, was yet, in condescension to the weakness of mankind, accommodated to the existing prejudices of the world, so far as was consistent with the honour of God, and its own great and valuable purposes. And, accordingly, he maintains, that the doctrine of our redemption by the sacrifice of Christ had its origin in the notion of sacrifices entertained amongst the Pagans.

"This notion," he says, "of the expiation of sin, by sacrifices of one kind or other, seems to have obtained very early in the world; and, among all other ways of divine worship, to have found the most universal reception in all times and places. And, indeed, a great part of the Jewish religion and worship was a plain condescension to the general apprehensions of men, concerning this way of appeasing the Deity by sacrifice: and the greatest part of the Pagan religion and worship was likewise founded upon the same notion and opinion, which, because it was so universal, seems to have had its original from the first parents of mankind, either immediately after the Creation, or after the Flood; and from thence, I mean as to the substance of this notion, to have been derived and propagated to all their posterity. And with this general notion of mankind, whatever the ground or foundation

of it might be, God was pleased so far to comply, as once for all to have a general atonement made for the sins of all mankind, by the sacrifice of his only Son." — *Tillotson's Works*, vol. i. p. 440. For similar observations, see do. pp. 439. 446, 447. 451. And again, in vol. ii. p. 112., he states the matter thus: — "With these notions, which had generally possessed mankind, God was pleased to comply so far, as, in the frame of the Jewish religion, (which was designed for a type of the more perfect institution of the Christian religion, and a preparation for it,) to appoint sacrifices to be slain and offered up for the sinner," &c. And, he adds, that, afterwards, in the dispensation of the Gospel, the same condescension to the apprehensions of mankind was likewise observed, as has been already stated.

Now, it is surely much to be lamented, that, when this learned Prelate had, upon a full examination of the case, been led to discover such a striking conformity between Paganism and Christianity, as must reduce the matter to this alternative, either that the Christian dispensation was framed in compliance with Heathen prejudices, or that Paganism was a corruption of those oracles which conveyed anticipations of the Christian scheme; it is much, I say, to be lamented, that he should have been drawn into a conclusion so directly at variance with history and Scripture, when one so powerfully sustained by both was immediately at hand.

The stumbling-block to the Archbishop, as an ingenious writer has justly remarked, was the supposition of a *Religion of Nature**, prior to

* One of the most singular theories ever devised on the subject of *Natural Religion*, is that of Bishop Warburton; which I subjoin here the more readily, as it tends to show to what strange conceits even the greatest men may be carried, when they attempt to be wise beyond what is written, and presume to substitute their own conjectural reasonings for the solid truths of Revelation. — Man, he contends, was created mortal, in the immaterial as well as the material part of his nature, immateriality simply being common to him with the whole animal creation. But by God's breathing into his nostrils the *breath of life*, and thereby making him a *living soul*, the *life* in man was discriminated from the *life* in brutes; since by this act was communicated to his immaterial part a *rational* principle, which, by making him responsible for his actions, must require, according to the existing constitution of things, a *continuance of life*, and, consequently, a distinct existence of the soul after its separation from the body. In the state, in which, according to the Bishop, the first couple were placed previous to their admission into Paradise, they were subject only to the law of *Natural Religion*, the constituent parts of which religion were discoverable by the efforts of the human understanding unassisted by divine instruction. On being advanced to the Paradisiacal state, man became the subject of *Revealed Religion*; and, as the reward of his obedience to the positive precept attached to his new condition, *immortality* (meaning thereby the perpetual duration and uninterrupted union of the body and soul), a quality which was altogether extraneous to his original nature, was placed within his reach by the *free grace* of God. The opportunity now afforded to him of exalting his nature by the superinduced blessings of immortality was lost by his non-compliance with the condition: and at the same time the corruption, which his disobedience caused to that rational nature in which he had been made to resemble the divine image, degraded him to his first condition of mortality, and made him again liable to that total death, that

and independent of revelation. Hence arose the assumption, that the notion of expiation for sins

---

complete annihilation to which his frame was originally subject. But, by the intervention of Jesus Christ, man was not only restored to the advantages of his original state, namely, the continuance of the soul after the dissolution of the body, but he was also enabled to obtain that immortality, which Adam by his obedience might have secured; with this difference however, that, in the immortality procured by Christ, death is permitted to give a temporary interruption to that existence and union of the soul and body, which, in the other case, would have been unbroken. But not only had the transgression occasioned a relapse into that state of mortality in which man had been originally created, but it also threw him back into that subjection to natural Religion in which he was at first placed. In this dispensation of *Natural Religion*, which, according to Bishop Warburton, was thus permitted to precede the dispensation of *Grace*, the aids and succours of virtue were not, however, according to his hypothesis, wanting; for, in his view of the subject, the light of revelation is by no means required to make known the efficacy of repentance, or the rewards of upright conduct. Both these points, he contends, are evidently manifest to the eye of reason, tracing the connexion that must subsist between the creature and his Maker. Such are the paradoxical, and, it must be added, unscriptural sentiments, conveyed by this learned writer in the 9th book of the *Divine Legation*. They will be found well, though briefly, treated by Mr. Pearson, in the first three sections of his *Critical Essay*; a work, of which I have already had occasion to speak, in p. 95. of the former volume. Dr. Graves, also, in the 4th section, Part III. of his *Lectures on the Pentateuch*, has made many valuable remarks, affecting, though not directly, these positions of the too ingenious Bishop.

It ought not to pass unnoticed, that his Lordship, in one of his Letters to his friend Dr. Hurd, speaks of this his favourite theory, as intended "to confute the triumphant reasoning of unbelievers, particularly Tindal, who say redemption is a

by sacrifice, which he found so early and so universal, was the mere suggestion of human apprehensions; not deduced from any express revelation concerning *the Lamb of God slain*, in decree and type, *from the foundation of the world*; not springing from any divine institution, ordained for the purpose of showing forth Christ's death, until he should himself appear in the flesh, to fulfil all that was prefigured of him, and to take away sin, and put an end to sacrifice, by the one great sacrifice of himself.

Had the Archbishop, as the same writer observes, reflected, that a religion or law of nature*,

---

fable! for the only means of regaining God's *favour*, which they eternally confound with *immortality*, is that simple one which natural religion teaches, viz. *repentance*. To confute this, it was necessary to show, that restoration to a *free gift*, and the recovery of a *claim*, were two very different things. The common answer was, that natural religion does *not* teach reconciliation on repentance; which if it does not, it teaches nothing, or worse than nothing." Of Natural Religion, then, after all that Bishop Warburton has written about it, we have his full confession, that *if it does not teach the sufficiency of repentance, it teaches even worse than nothing.*— The opponent of the notion of Natural Religion may safely allow the matter to rest upon the ground on which the Bishop has placed it. That God will accept repentance in compensation for obedience, nothing short of the word of God can ever establish satisfactorily to any reasonable mind. The consequence of this position is supplied by the author of the *Divine Legation*.

* To him who would wish to see, how little the *Religion of Nature*, so far as it contains any thing truly valuable to man, is strictly entitled to that name, I would recommend the perusal of the preface to *The Religion of Jesus delineated*.

is a mere *ens rationis*; that the first parents of mankind were not left to the unassisted light of

---

The observations there contained, whilst they tend to show, in animadverting upon *The Religion of Nature delineated*, how sadly deficient the scheme of natural religion is found, even at this day, although sketched by the hand of a master, and aided by the borrowed discoveries of revelation, at the same time clearly evince, that the promulger of the truths of what is called *natural religion*, in almost every case in which he advances any that are of importance to mankind, is in reality to be deemed, not Αὐτοδίδακτος, but Θεοδίδακτος. Of this, however, the fullest and most complete proof is to be derived from the invaluable work of *Dr. Ellis*, in which he may be said to have demonstrated *The knowledge of Divine Things* to be *from Revelation, not from Reason or Nature*. *Leland* has also abundantly established the *fact*, of the total insufficiency of human reason in religious concerns, by the view which he has given, of the state of religion in the Heathen world, in his work on *The Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation*. From *Clarke*'s 6th and 7th propp. of his *Evidence of Natural and Revealed Religion*, although this author is disposed to attribute to the powers of reason rather more than their due share, the same inference may be deduced — especially from what is said, p. 659—665. and 666—671, vol. ii. of his works. —— I should be guilty of injustice to an accomplished modern writer, if on this subject I permitted to pass unnoticed Dr. Malthy's Thesis for his degree of B. D., contained in the volume of his *Illustrations of the Truth of the Christian Religion*. The following proposition, "Nequit per se humana ratio cognitione satis plenâ et certâ assequi, quo potissimum modo Deus sit colendus; quæ sint hominum officia; vita denique futura sit, necne, æterna," is there treated with a justness, a succinctness, a good taste, a correctness of style, and a strength of authority, which reflect honour upon its author as a divine, and as a scholar, and cannot fail to give satisfaction to the reader, who wishes to find the *substance* of what can be said upon this important question, compressed into the smallest compass, and in the

reason or nature, but were, from the beginning, fully instructed by their Creator in all things necessary for them to know; that, after their fall, the way and method of their salvation was, in a certain degree, made known to them; that all religious rites flowed from the same divine source, viz. the original revelation of the redemption of the world by the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ; that all the apprehensions and common prejudices of mankind, as they are called, were derived from the same fountain; that all, until the apostacy at Babel, had the same tongue, the same faith, the same Lord; that the Heathen carried off from thence the same religious rites and ceremonies, and the same sentiments concerning God and his ways with man, which, by change of language, length of time, wantonness of imagination, perverseness of human nature, and subtlety of the devil, were reduced to that cor-

---

best manner. The concluding observation, concerning such as at the present day repose on the sufficiency of reason for a knowledge of their duties, contains a truth, in which every reflecting mind must necessarily acquiesce. "Profecto eâdem, quâ veteres philosophi, caligine animi eorum sunt mersi: aut si quid melius sapiunt, *id omne a Christianâ religione malâ fide mutuati sunt.*" p. 355. And therefore, as the writer finally remarks, it is most devoutly to be desired, that the advocates for the all-sufficiency of reason would deeply imprint upon their minds this momentous maxim of the great Bacon:—"Causa vero et radix fere omnium malorum in scientiis ea una est, quod dum mentis humanæ vires falso miramur et extollimus, vera ejus auxilia non quæramus." p. 359.

rupted state of faith and practice in which our Saviour at his advent found them;—and that, as already observed, from the first promise made to Adam, during the patriarchal and legal dispensations, all was Christianity in type and figure; so that Christianity was the *first* religion in the world, corrupted afterwards indeed by the Gentile, but preserved by the Jew in type, till Christ, the great Antitype, the reality and completion, came;—had he (this writer observes) pursued this train of thinking, he would have found the reverse of his conclusion to be the truth; namely, "that Christianity was not instituted in compliance with Paganism; but that Paganism was nothing else but the great truths of Christianity split and debased into a legend of fables, such as we meet with in their mythology."*—*Speerman's Letters to a Friend concerning the Septuagint Translation and the Heathen Mythology*, pp. 150, 151.

The writer who has made the above observations, and whose reasonings would not have been less valuable had they taken less tincture from the Hutchinsonian school, has endeavoured, and not without success, to establish the point last adverted to; namely, the derivation of the Pagan mythology from the divine revelations.

* If this view of the case be a just one, we certainly might reasonably expect to find in the mythology of the ancients, in a much larger and more important sense, what Plutarch says of the Egyptian fables, ἀμυδρὰς τινὰς ἐμφάσεις τῆς ἀληθείας, *some faint and obscure resemblance of the truth.*

Tillotson's idea corresponds with that which was afterwards adopted by *Spencer*. For since he admits the Jewish dispensation to have been typical of the Christian, the accommodation of the *Christian* scheme to Pagan prejudices, for which he contends, could only have been effected through the previous accommodation of the *Jewish* scheme to those prejudices; which, as we have seen in Number XLVII., falls in with the theory maintained by *Spencer*. And this theory, as we have seen in the same number, p. 481. of the first volume, is satisfactorily refuted by *Shuckford*, whose work on *The Sacred and Prophane History of the World connected*, goes to establish the direct contradictory of *Spencer*'s position.* The arguments of *Spencer* are also successfully combated by *Witsius* in his *Ægyptiaca:* see likewise the same author's *Misc. Sacr.* Lib. I. Diss. i. p. 429—437. *Warburton* confesses truly, that *Spencer*'s work is but a paraphrase and comment on the third book of the *Moreh Nevochim* of Rabbi *Maimonides;* and, joining forces with *Spencer*† in maintaining the orthodoxy of the

* The particular application of his arguments to *Spencer*'s notion will be found briefly sketched in vol. i. p. 313—317.

† How little Spencer deserved to have the support of Warburton, is not only manifest, from the whole scheme of his argument, in his great work *De Legibus Hebræorum*, (which is itself unsupported by true history, and has always been resorted to by Infidel writers in order to wing their shafts more effectively against the Mosaic Revelation,) but may also be made to appear, more evidently and briefly, by the quotation of a single passage from this writer's *Discourse concerning*

philosophizing Jew*, he contends, with all his might, against the arguments of *Witsius* and

---

Prodigies. "It is," he says, "the nature of the soul to be greatly impressive to a persuasion of *parallels, equalities, similitudes,* in the frame and government of the world.—This general temper of the soul easily inclines it to believe great and mighty changes in states, ushered in with the solemnity of some mighty and analogous changes in nature; and that all terrible evils are prefaced or attended with some prodigious and amazing alterations in the creation:—Hence perhaps it is, that we generally find great troubles and judgments on earth described, especially by persons *ecstatical, prophets and poets,* (whose speeches usually rather follow the *easy sense of the soul, than the rigid truth of things,*) by all the examples of horror and confusion in the frame of the creation. The *Prophet David* describes God's going forth to judgment thus: *The earth shook and trembled, the foundations also of the hills moved and were shaken,*" &c. (p. 70—72.)—Now can it be any defence against this irreverent attack upon the *prophets inspired by God,* which charges them with indulging in *enthusiastic visions and expressions founded only in their own fancies, and not in the truth of things;* can it, I say, be deemed any defence to urge, as Warburton has done, that, "through his intention to the argument, he often expresses himself very *crudely?*" (*Div. Leg.* vol. ii. p. 341.) If he be so *crude* in his expression, as to cast discredit upon Revelation, whilst his intention is to support it, he must surely be a very unsafe guide in theology. At the same time, it can hardly be imagined, that an author, possessing considerable powers and facilities of language, could, in any case, especially in one affecting the very foundation of Revealed Religion, express himself so *crudely,* as to represent himself destitute of a belief, which he *firmly, habitually,* and *reverently* maintained. At all events, it is evident, that such a writer is to be consulted with much caution, and his authorities scanned with much suspicion.

* For a very curious and interesting account of the circumstances which gave rise to the production of the celebrated

Shuckford.—Div. Leg. Book IV. Sect. 6. To this he was urged by the necessity, which his paradoxical system had imposed upon him, of making out for the Egyptian rites and institutions an extravagant antiquity: and in defence of his dogmas he advances every thing that a powerful but perverted ingenuity, acting on a wide range of learning, could supply.*

---

work, the *Moreh Nevochim*, in which Maimonides first gave to the world the theory of the ceremonial institutions of the Jews here referred to, the reader may consult *Warburton's Div. Leg.* vol. ii. pp. 353, 354. He will probably, however, not be altogether satisfied, that the existing necessity of "showing to the apostatizing Jews, that the Scriptures might be defended or even explained on the principles of Aristotle; and of gratifying the inquisitive and disputatious tendencies of those, who enquired after the *reasons* of the Jewish laws, by finding out a reasonableness and convenience in their ceremonial rites," supplies a proof, that those reasons, which philosophic Jew had thus assigned, were the true reasons which influenced the divine Legislator in the several ordinances of his Law. The parallel, which Warburton here insinuates, between the nature of his own great work and that of Maimonides, will not escape the notice of the observing reader.

* The character of this distinguished scholar and divine, as it is portrayed by the hand of a master, I here willingly subjoin.—"He was a man of vigorous faculties, a mind fervid and vehement, supplied by incessant and unlimited enquiry, with wonderful extent and variety of knowledge, which yet had not oppressed his imagination, nor clouded his perspicacity. To every work he brought a memory full fraught, with a fancy fertile of original combinations, and at once exerted the powers of the scholar, the reasoner, and the wit. But his knowledge was too multifarious to be always exact, and his pursuits were too eager to be always cautious. His abilities gave him an haughty confidence, which he disdained to conceal

Lord *Bolingbroke* has seldom been found instrumental in correcting theological mistakes,

---

or mollify; and his impatience of opposition disposed him to treat his adversaries with such contemptuous superiority, as made his readers commonly his enemies, and excited against him the wishes of some who favoured his cause. He seems to have adopted the Roman emperor's determination, *oderint dum metuant;* he used no allurements of gentle language, but wished to compel rather than persuade.—His style is copious without selection, and forcible without neatness: he took the words that presented themselves: his diction is coarse and impure, and his sentences are unmeasured."—*Johnson's Life of Pope.*

For a view of the character more favourable, but not more just, I would refer to that which Bishop Hurd, the uniform admirer and panegyrist of Warburton, has given in the life he has written of that prelate. His encomiums, on *The Divine Legation* especially, are overcharged; and the recollection that the cause of truth and of religion, no less than the reputation of his friend, was involved in the estimation of that important work, should have rendered his panegyric more qualified.

My friend Dr. Graves, in his late excellent work on the *Pentateuch*, has sketched a portrait, which, for likeness of feature and justness of colouring, seems to me to merit a place in the neighbourhood of that which has been drawn by Johnson.—Speaking of the *Divine Legation*, and having observed, that, "While its author lived, his splendid talents and extensive learning raised in his followers and defenders such enthusiastic admiration, that they could not perceive, or at least would not allow, that he had been in the smallest point erroneous: while the keenness of his controversial asperity, the loftiness of his literary pretensions, and the paradoxical form in which he too frequently chose to clothe his opinions, roused in his answerers a zeal of opposition, which would sometimes yield him no credit for the discovery of any truth;" he then proceeds: "Time should now enable us to view him in his true light: in reasoning, sagacious yet precipitate; in criti-

and yet nothing can be more apposite in reply to these dangerous notions of Tillotson, Spencer, and Warburton, than his observations upon this very subject. For the weighty reasons assigned by these writers, he says (alluding to such as held the opinions of Spencer),—"The God of truth chose to indulge error, and suited his institutions to the taste of the age: he contented himself also to take ordinary and natural means, in a case to which they were not adequate; and whilst miracles and divine interpositions were displayed in great abundance before the eyes of the Israelites, yet Moses, under the direction of the Almighty, chose to make use of superstitions which he did not want, and which defeated instead of securing his intent; insomuch that, if the apostasies of the Israelites, after such manifestations of the one true God, can be any way accounted for, it must be by the effect of the very expedient which had

---

cism, ingenious but not unprejudiced; his comprehensive view sometimes embraced in the process of his inquiries too wide an extent; while his quick imagination sometimes led him to combine his arguments with too slight a connexion. But when he directed, to any one grand point, his undivided and unprejudiced attention, he frequently diffused over it the radiance of genius, and discovered the recesses of truth. Happy, had his humility been equal to his talents, and had his temper been as calm and tolerant, as his understanding was luminous and penetrating. His researches would then have been conducted with more caution and impartiality, would have produced more unexceptionable conclusions, and had been attended with happier success." *Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 209—211.

been employed to prevent those apostasies." In short, he says, the whole plan of Providence seems to have been, "*to destroy idolatry by indulgence to the very superstitions out of which it grew.*" * — *Bolingbroke's Phil. Works,* vol. i. p. 313—319.

What the noble Sophist had intended with no better will to Revealed Religion itself, than to those of its advocates whom he professes to rebuke, I have, in this extract, taken such liberties in modifying, as will permit the argument to bear, only where truth would have directed it; namely, upon those mistaken interpreters of revelation, who depart from the written word of God, to follow the guidance of their own fancies in explaining the grounds and motives of the divine dispensations. Such it is impossible not to pronounce Tillotson, Spencer, and Warburton, to have been, on the particular subject now before us.

* On the same subject, this writer, in another place, thus pointedly, (though, as his custom is, irreverently,) expresses himself. "In order to preserve the purity of his worship, the Deity is represented as prescribing to the Israelites a multitude of rites and ceremonies, founded in the superstitions of Egypt from which they were to be weaned; and he succeeded accordingly. They were never weaned entirely from all these superstitions: and the great merit of the law of Moses was teaching the people to adore one God, much as the idolatrous nations adored several. This may be called sanctifying Pagan rites and ceremonies, in theological language: but it is profaning the pure worship of God, in the language of common sense." — *Phil. Works,* vol. v. p. 375.

In how very different a manner we ought to pursue our inquiries, from that which these writers would propose, I have already endeavoured to enforce, p. 45—60. of vol. i.; also Number XLVII. and pp. 231, 232, 238—240. of this volume. And how fully we are justified in so doing, will yet more satisfactorily appear, on consulting *Dr. Graves's Lectures on the Pentateuch* (especially the two sections of Lect. vi. part iii.), and the *Eight Discourses on the Connection between the Old and New Testament;* in which latter work, the unity of the scheme of Redemption pervading the entire series of the divine dispensations has been treated with much ability by Archdeacon Daubeny; whose opinions, upon so many important points, I am happy to find perfectly coincident with those, which I have submitted to the public, throughout these pages, on the nature of the atonement.

To such as may be desirous to investigate more deeply the opinions of the three distinguished writers against whom I have found it necessary to contend in discussing the subject of the present Number, I recommend an attentive perusal of the tenth book of *Eusebius's Præparatio Evangelica:* — Book iii. chap. v. of *Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ:* — *Bochart's Geographia Sacra:* — *Witsius's Ægyptiaca:* — *Winder's History of Knowledge:* — *Ellis's Knowledge of Divine Things from Revelation* (especially p. 122—129.): *Nichols's Conference with a Theist* (par-

ticularly vol. i. p. 290—308. and pp. 319, 320.): *Faber's Horæ Mosaicæ:* and *Dr. Woodward's Discourse on the Ancient Egyptians* * (*Archæolog.* vol. iv.). Bishop Tomline, in his excellent *Elements of Christian Theology* (Part i. chap. i. p. 37—48.), has admirably summed up the argument from the concurrence of profane tradition with the Mosaic history; deducing both from the common source of revelation, disguised, indeed, and disfigured in the one by allegories

* An extract from this discourse I here subjoin, as particularly worthy of attention, in reply to the favourite theory of Spencer. — "Whatever might be the bent and dispositions of the Israelites, it was Moses's proper business to rectify them. He was not to indulge them in their fancies, but inform them of their duties, and direct them to what was fit, reasonable, and consistent with good morals and piety, though that happened to be never so much against their gusts and inclinations: which accordingly he every where did; and there are numerous instances of it through all his government of them. His doing otherwise might, indeed, have shown a great deal of *policy*, but not near so much probity and goodness, as are discoverable through his whole conduct of this great people. I can very easily allow Dr. Spencer, that this was the method that Mahomet, Apollonius Tyanæus, and some politicians, have taken: nor will I enter into any contest with him, whether the Devil makes use of the same in order to seduce mankind from the worship of God; all which he gives, I think, surely with a little too much looseness, as parallel instances in confirmation of his notion: but this I am mighty sure, Moses was on all occasions very far from it." pp. 281, 282. — Spencer had justified these observations by his strange assertions. "In eo enim eluxit sapientia divina, quod antidotum e veneno faceret, et illis ipsis ceremoniis ad populi sui utilitatem, *quibus olim Diabolus* ad hominum perniciem uteretur." And again he cites this political axiom, τὸ κακὸν ἐῦ κείμενον οὐκ ἔστι κινητέον.

and fabulous conceits, but conveyed to us by the other in its pristine and uncorrupted purity. The laborious and valuable researches of Mr. Bryant, Mr. Maurice, and, particularly, Sir William Jones, have thrown new and powerful lights upon this important subject.

As to the searching, with a curious minuteness, into the resemblances which subsist between the Pagan mythologies and the great truths of the Jewish and Christian revelations, this may, undoubtedly, be carried too far. And I agree entirely with the learned and judicious Dr. Nares, that we are not bound, in the proof of the authenticity of Revelation, to mark out its traces amidst the rubbish of absurd fables and disgusting mysteries, which compose the various religions of the Heathen world. See *Nares's Bampton Lecture*, pp. 251, 252. — And yet, since these resemblances have been employed, by the pen of infidelity, to overthrow Revelation, under the pretence, that the discoveries which we ascribe to *it* had been derived from Pagan mythology, it surely must be admitted, that such inquiries of the learned as tend to reverse this position possess no inconsiderable value. The engines, designed for the destruction of Christianity, are hereby converted into instruments for its defence. The infidel, who laboured in the support of error, is thus rendered an auxiliary in the cause of truth. And it may, perhaps, not unfairly be viewed as a sort of providential retri-

bution, that a Hume, a Bolingbroke, and a Voltaire *, should be pressed into the ranks with the champions of Revelation, and compelled to

* Volney is not, perhaps, of sufficient calibre to be ranked with the above-mentioned discoverers of moral and religious truths. And yet he has given specimens, which prove him not wholly unworthy of such society. He has, amongst many curious matters, *discovered,* that the mysterious birth of the Messiah signifies nothing more, than the *Sun rising in the constellation of Virgo;* that the twelve apostles are *the twelve signs of the Zodiac;* and that all "the pretended personages from Adam to Abraham, are mythological beings, *stars, constellations, countries.*" *Ruins,* pp. 348. 388, 389. — Of this work of Mr. Volney, it has been well remarked by a learned writer, that it "is truly styled THE RUINS; for that, agreeably to its title, it menaces destruction to every thing that has justly commanded the respect and veneration of man: as it would rob men of the inestimable blessings of peace and good order, of the endearing ties of social connexion, and, consequently, of what constitutes both public and private happiness; and, by breaking the salutary restraints of religion, would banish peace from the human breast, and spoil it of its firmest support in life, and surest consolation in death." And to this is most properly subjoined, that "its baleful influence is not confined to these alone: that it carries in itself the seeds of its *own* ruin and confusion; and that it would almost require a volume, to enumerate the contradictory and jarring atoms, of which this chaos of confusion is composed." *An Enquiry into the Origin of the Constellations that compose the Zodiac,* p. 197.

Such are the judicious observations of a writer, whose learning has enabled him to overthrow the principal theories which have been erected by others upon the subject of which he treats; while it has not prevented the writer himself from adding one more to the numerous instances, that already existed, of the danger of adventuring into those visionary regions, in which fact supplies no solid footing, and fancy is the only guide.

march in the triumphal procession which celebrates their own defeat.

The latest claim, that has been set up in opposition to the Hebrew Scriptures, is on behalf of the sacred books of the Hindus. These, it has been pretended, evince not only the priority of the Indian records, but also, that Moses has borrowed from the Brâhmens much of what has been commonly ascribed to him as original, especially with regard to the creation of the world. The fallacy of such pretences has, indeed, of late years, been fully manifested by the valuable exertions of Sir William Jones, and those of his respectable fellow-labourers in the field of Indian literature. At the same time, it is to be lamented, that the admissions of that illustrious vindicator of the Hebrew writings, as well as those of Mr. Maurice, and others, respecting the antiquity of the Vedas, have been such as to furnish those who are desirous to pervert the truth with an opportunity of applying the produce of their meritorious labours to the prejudice of the Jewish records; an opportunity which was not neglected.*

* See the Advertisement prefixed to the 5th volume of the *London* edition of the *Asiatic Researches:* in which, after noticing the antiquity ascribed to the Vedas by the above Orientalists, the Editors insidiously subjoin the following observation:— "We shall not take up your time, with a dissertation on the exact age of *either the* HEBREW *or the* HINDU SCRIPTURES: both are ancient: let the reader judge.—WHETHER THE HINDU BRAHMENS BORROWED FROM MOSES, OR MOSES FROM THE HINDU BRAHMENS, is not our present enquiry," p. iv. The merit of these observations, it should

The futility of the attempt was, happily, at once, exposed by a few judicious observations in the *British Critic*, (vol. xvi. pp. 149, 150.) and has since received more ample refutation from the pens of *Mr. Faber*, and *Dr. Nares*, in their *Bampton Lecture* volumes. But, in truth, notwithstanding that, as has been abundantly proved, such admissions of the great antiquity of the Hindu records by no means justify an inference affecting the originality and priority of the Hebrew Scriptures, yet it is fairly to be questioned whether that antiquity has not been rated much above its real standard.

The astronomical tables of the Hindus, it is well known, supply the only reasonable *data* from which to judge of their chronology: their habitual exaggerations rendering every other source of chronological information altogether chimerical; insomuch that Sir W. Jones pronounces, (in his *Dissertation on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India,*) "that the comprehensive mind of an Indian chronologist has no limits;" and at the same time proves his assertion by a number of the most extraordinary instances. Their astronomical calculations, therefore, having naturally

---

be noticed, belongs exclusively to the *London Editors*: the *advertisement* being altogether a fabrication of theirs; and no one part of it being to be found in the original *Calcutta* Edition, of which this professes to be a faithful copy. Such is the use to which the pure gold of Sir W. Jones would be converted by these workers of base metal!

become a subject of great curiosity and interest with men of science, the celebrated M. Bailly, in the year 1787, published, at Paris, a volume on *the Indian astronomy*, in which he contended for its great antiquity, carrying it back to a period of more than 3000 years before the Christian era. This conclusion he founded upon the nature of certain of their astronomical tables; which, he contended, contained internal evidence that they had been formed from actual observation, and must therefore be carried up to so early a date as that of 3102 A. C. His reasoning upon this subject, in his elaborate *Traité de l'Astronomie Indienne et Orientale*, were followed by other astronomers, particularly by Professor Playfair in the 2d vol. of the *Edinburgh Transactions*, in 1789: and the *Suryá Siddhantá**, supposed to

* Mr. Davis, who was the translator of this most ancient of the *Sastras*, thinks that he finds in it sufficient *data*, from which, computing the diminution of the obliquity of the Ecliptic at the rate of 50″ in a century, he can fairly infer the age of the work itself to be 3840 years; thereby carrying it back more than 2000 years A. C. (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 238.) — But, Professor Playfair, proceeding at a rate of computation, which he conceives more accurate, places the date of the work above 3000 years earlier than the Christian era. (*Edin. Trans.* vol. iv. p. 103.) He therefore thinks himself perfectly secure in adopting the interval of 2000 years A. C.: in which, also, he fortifies himself by the authority of Sir W. Jones. The demands, both of Mr. Davis and Professor Playfair, must certainly be admitted to be modest, compared with that of the Hindus themselves; who require of us to believe, that this book is 2,164,899 years old, having been at that distant period given by divine revelation.

contain the most ancient astronomical treatise of the Indians, was also carried up to a very high date, not less than 2000 years before the Christian era.

That the reasonings, however, which led to both these conclusions, are erroneous, later discussions of the subject leave but little room for doubt. Mr. Marsden, in an ingenious paper in the *Phil. Trans.* for 1790, had, without attempting to impeach M. Bailly's astronomical arguments, pointed out a satisfactory mode of accounting for the apparent antiquity of the Indian tables, by conceiving the computations to be founded, not upon a *real*, but an *imaginary*, conjunction of the planets, sought for as an epoch, and calculated retrospectively. The celebrated M. LAPLACE, again, after the most accurate mathematical investigation, has not only*

* I cannot refrain from giving, at full length, the opinions and reasonings of so distinguished a mathematician as M. LAPLACE on a point of such vital moment, as that of the great antiquity which it has been the fashion to ascribe to the astronomical tables of the Hindus; and on a point, also, in which the opinions of a mathematician can alone have weight.

"Les tables Indiennes indiquent une astronomie plus perfectionnée; *mais tout porte à croire qu'elles ne sont pas d'une haute antiquité.* Ici, je m'éloigne à regret de l'opinion d'un savant illustre (M. Bailly), qui, après avoir honoré sa carrière, par des travaux utiles aux sciences et à l'humanité, mourut victime de la plus sanguinaire tyrannie, opposant le calme et la dignité du juste aux fureurs d'un peuple abusé, qui sous ses yeux même se fit un plaisir barbare d'apprêter son supplice. Les tables Indiennes ont deux époques prin-

pronounced upon the recent date of the tables, but has also pointed out errors in the calcula-

---

cipales, qui remontent, l'une à l'année 3102 avant l'ère Chrétienne, l'autre à 1491 : ces époques sont liées par les moyens mouvemens du soleil, de la lune, et des planètes, de sorte que l'une d'elles est nécessairement fictive. L'auteur célèbre dont je viens de parler a cherché à établir, dans son traité de l'Astronomie Indienne, que la première de ces époques est fondée sur l'observation. *Malgré ses preuves,* exposées avec l'intérêt qu'il a su répandre sur les choses les plus abstraites, *je regarde comme très vraisemblable, que cette époque a été* IMAGINÉE *pour donner une commune origine dans le Zodaique aux mouvemens des corps célestes.* En effet, si, partant l'époque de 1491, on remonte, au moyen des tables Indiennes, à l'an 3102 avant l'ère Chrétienne ; on trouve la conjonction générale du soleil, de la lune, et des planètes, que ces tables supposent : *mais cette conjonction trop différente du résultat de nos meilleures tables, pour avoir eu lieu, nous montre que l'époque à laquelle elle se rapporte n'est point appuyée sur les observations.* A la vérité, quelques élémens de l'astronomie Indienne semblent indiquer, qu'ils ont été déterminés même avant cette première époque ; ainsi, l'équation du centre du soleil, qu'elle fixe à 2°, 4173, n'a pû être de cette grandeur, que vers l'an 4300 avant l'ère Chrétienne. Mais, indépendamment des erreurs dont les déterminations des Indiens ont été susceptibles, on doit observer qu'ils n'ont considéré les inégalités du soleil et de la lune, que relativement aux éclipses dans lesquelles l'équation annuelle de la lune s'ajoute à l'équation du centre du soleil, et l'augmente d'environ 22′ ; ce qui est à-peu-près la différence de nos déterminations à celle des Indiens. Plusieurs élémens, tels que les équations du centre de Jupiter et de Mars, sont si différens dans les tables Indiennes de ce qu'ils devoient être à leur première époque, que l'on ne peut rien conclure des autres élémens en faveur de leur antiquité. *L'ensemble de ces tables, et surtout* L'IMPOSSIBILITÉ *de la conjonction quelles supposent à la même époque, prouvent au contraire qu'elles ont été construites, ou du moins rectifiées, dans des temps modernes ;*

tions from which M. Bailly deduced his results; and has clearly demonstrated the epoch in the tables, not to have been *real*, but *fictitious*. And, last of all, *Mr. Bentley* seems completely

---

ce que confirment les moyens mouvemens, qu'elles assignent à la lune, par rapport à son périgée, à ses nœuds, et au soleil; et *qui plus rapides que suivant Ptolémée, indiquent évidemment que la formation de ces tables est postérieure au temps de cet astronome;* car on a vu que ces trois mouvemens s'accélèrent de siècle en siècle."—*Exposition du Systême du Monde*, pp. 293, 294.

Thus has *M. Laplace*, from the evidence which the tables themselves supply, not only overturned the prevailing notion of their great antiquity, but reduced their date even lower than the first century; since he places them lower than the age of Ptolemy, who lived until 161 A. D.

Having been led to make mention of this eminent mathematician, than whom a greater name has not arisen since the days of Newton, I cannot forbear noticing, as a matter of singular curiosity, the coincidence of a remarkable astronomical epoch, as fixed by his calculations, with the year in which Archbishop Usher has placed the creation of the world, according to the chronology of the Hebrew. The epoch is that of the coincidence of the greater axis of the earth's orbit with the line of the equinoxes, at which time the true and the mean equinox were the same. This M. Laplace computes to have taken place, about the year 4004 before the Christian era; which is the very era of the creation, as chronologists have derived it from the Hebrew Scriptures.— *Traité de Mécanique Céleste*, tom. iii. p. 113. — This point I have stated merely for the gratification of the curious reader, without intending to lay upon it any particular stress. At the same time, I cannot avoid observing, that if a coincidence, equally striking, bore an aspect unfavourable to the truth of the Scripture history, it would be cried up by a certain class of literati (who admire Mr. Brydone's lavas and such like trash), as a circumstance amounting to a *demonstration* of the falsehood of the Hebrew Scriptures.

to have settled the point, in his two most ingenious and learned papers, in the 6th and 8th volumes of the Asiatic Researches, in which he not only contends, that, from the principles of the Hindu astronomy, the recent date of the tables can be deduced; but that also, from authentic testimony, independent of all calculations, the age of the Suryá Siddhantá can be proved to be such, as not to carry the date of its composition farther back than the year 1068. In his endeavours to establish these points, he has not scrupled to pronounce M. Bailly and Professor Playfair to have been totally mistaken in their reasonings concerning the antiquity of the Indian astronomy; and to have proceeded upon an entire ignorance of the *principles* of the artificial system of the Hindus: the nature of which he states to consist in this,—that "certain points of time *back* are fixed upon as epochs, at which the planets are *assumed* to fall into a line of mean conjunction with the sun in the beginning of Aries; and that from the points of time so assumed as epochs, the Hindu astronomer carries on his calculations, as if they had been settled so by actual observation; and determines the mean annual motions, which he must employ in his system, from thence, as will give the positions of the planets in his own time, as near as he is able to determine the same by observation." (Vol. vi. p. 542.)—He then proceeds to show by what means such fictitious epochs

may be assumed, without incurring the danger of a perceptible variation from the real mean motions: and, upon the whole, he has fortified his argument in a way that renders it not easy to be shaken. The high authority of the names which Mr. Bentley has to oppose on this subject, (Sir W. Jones himself having, as well as M. Bailly and Professor Playfair, maintained the antiquity of the Indian astronomy,) may occasion some delay to the reception of his opinions. But, from the proofs which have been advanced in their support, and from the additional lights to be expected upon this subject, there seems little reason to doubt that they will ere long be generally acquiesced in.

At all events, the main foundation, on which the extraordinary antiquity of the Indian records has been built, must be given up as no longer tenable: and the decided priority of the Mosaic Scriptures cannot any longer reasonably be questioned.* So that, as the Chaldean, Phœ-

* Dr. Nares, in his valuable note upon this subject, (*Bampton Lecture*, p. 256—273.) seems somewhat reluctant to admit Mr. Bentley's results, in opposition to those which could boast so many distinguished names in their support. He has, however, with great learning and ability, shown, that even from the evidence, which M. Bailly himself adduces in corroboration of his opinion, no inference can reasonably be drawn, which in any degree interferes with the truth and originality of the Scripture history. Indeed, the whole of Dr. Nares's discussion of this subject is particularly worthy of attention. Of his entire work, it may be, as it has been, most truly affirmed, that there is perhaps no other extant, which, within

nician, Egyptian, Grecian, and Chinese antiquities, which at different times have been deemed irreconcileable with the truth of Scripture history, have, on a more minute inspection, contracted their dimensions to a perfect agreement with the Scripture standard; so it may without hazard be pronounced of the Indian antiquities, that the day of their exaggerated extent has nearly gone by; and that there is no longer much danger of any serious impediment, from that quarter, to the belief of the Mosaic history. That the Indians did, at a very early age, cultivate astronomy, and that to them we are indebted for that most ingenious and useful invention of an arithmetical character, possessing at the same time an absolute and a local value, cannot, undoubtedly, be denied. And yet it must be admitted, that there are such indications of gross ignorance in the very science which they have so much studied, that one scarcely knows how to give them credit for cer-

---

the same compass, brings so much argument to bear against the various enemies of our religion from without, or against the betrayers of it from within. And, as compressing, in the best manner, the greatest quantity of important information, on all the important subjects, on which modern wisdom has attempted to assail Revelation, I most earnestly recommend it to the Theological student. — I cannot permit the very favourable mention which this author has made of my former publications on *the Atonement* to prevent me from giving a testimony which the cause of religious truth so imperiously demands.

tain other discoveries which are ascribed to them. To make the circumference of the earth amount to 2,456,000,000 British miles (*Asiat. Research.* vol. v. art. 18.), and to hold the moon's distance from the earth to be greater than that of the sun *, are not proofs of any great progress in astronomical research. On this subject, see *Montucla*'s observations, in the part referred to in the note below. In truth, from circumstances such as these, joined to the fact, of the Indians being unable to give any explanation of, or assign any reasons for, their particular tables and calculations, there seems good reason to think that much of what has been supposed to be their own invention, has been derived to them from other sources; as has proved to be the case, with respect to the Chinese tables; and as Dr. Nares has well shown to be extremely probable, with respect to those of the Indians likewise.† *Bampt. Lect.* pp. 270, 271.

* "Ils font aussi la Lune plus éloignée de nous que le Soleil, et même ils sont aussi attachées à cette opinion, qu'on l'est encore dans certaines contrées à nier le mouvement de la terre. Un Brame et un missionaire étant dans la même prison, le premier suffroit assez patiemment, que l'autre entreprît de le désabuser du culte de *Brama;* mais lorsque, dans d'autres conversations, il vit que le missionaire prétendoit, que le Soleil étoit au-delà de la Lune, ç'en fut fait: il rompit entièrement avec lui, et ne voulut plus lui parler." — *Montuc. Hist. des Mathém.* tom. i. p. 404.

† Will not this supposition throw some light upon that extraordinary acquaintance with certain Trigonometrical principles, laid down in the *Suryá Siddhantá*, which have excited Professor Playfair's wonder in *Edinb. Trans.* vol. iv.?

As to the readiness of the Indians to impose fabrications upon the Europeans, all must now be tolerably well satisfied, since the publication of Mr. Wilford's Essay in the 8th volume of the *Asiatic Researches* (p. 245—262.), in which he confesses, with a grief that had actually reduced him to a fit of sickness, that "his Pundits had totally deceived him, in almost all that he had written about the *Sacred Islands in the West;* having at different times, and in proportion as they became acquainted with his pursuits and his wishes, made *erasures* in the Sanscrit MSS., and on those *erasures* inserted the names, RAJATA DWEEP, for England, and SUVARNA DWEEP, for Ireland." He adds, also, that "those *frequently recurring erasures in most Indian* MSS., tended to throw a deep shade over their presumed authority." Another imposition, on a subject infinitely more important, has also since come to light. For, unfortunately, we find that the remarkable passage in the 3d volume of the *Researches*, which Sir W. Jones affirms to be an exact translation by himself, from an Indian MS., forwarded to him by Mr. Wilford, relative to Noah, under the name of *Satyavarman*, and his three sons, *Sherma*, *Charma*, and *Jyapeti*, is ALTOGETHER A FORGERY BY THE BRAHMENS. See *As. Res.* vol. iii. pp. 465, 466. 312, 313. 320.

I cannot forbear annexing to this Number a passage from an old translation of a work of the

celebrated *Amyraut*. It has a close connexion with the principal topics under discussion; and the singular value of its contents will, I trust, justify its insertion.

"Furthermore, whereas it was well said by one, that things of greatest antiquity are best; and the philosophers themselves, when they treat concerning God and religion, extremely cry up antiquity, and attribute much to the dictates of their ancestors; as if nature itself had suggested to them, that there was a source of all these things, from which they, that were nearest it, drew the purest and sincerest waters; whereas, accordingly as they are derived through several minds, as so many several conduit pipes, they become corrupted and tincted with extraneous qualities, and contract impurity. If there be found a doctrine that has all the marks of antiquity, and there appears nothing in the world that equals it, it ought not to be doubted, but that the same proceeded from Him that is more ancient than all, as being Author of all things. If the language in which it was revealed be as the mother and stock, from which others, though very ancient, are sprung; if it describes the history of the world, and of men, and their propagation upon the earth; if it affords the demonstration of times, and that without it the knowledge of chronology would be more intricate than a labyrinth; if it deduces its history from point to point with an exact correspond-

ence; if it clearly and certainly relates histories, that are as the body of the fabulous shadows that we see in the writings of the most ancient authors in the world; who will doubt, but all which they have is taken from thence, and that we ought to refer what is therein depraved and corrupted thereunto, as to its principle, and have recourse thither to learn what we are ignorant of?—If there be found a religion, all whose parts accord together with an admirable harmony, although it has been propounded at several times, and by several persons, in several places; if there be a discipline, a doctrine, a book, a society, in which God himself speaks to men in a style and manner agreeable to the eminence of his majesty, displays his justice to them most terrible in its appearance, discovers his power in its highest magnificence, and gives them to sound the breadth and length, depth and height, of his infinite mercies: lastly, if examples of an incomparable virtue be found therein, with incitations and instructions to piety; such as are not to be paralleled any other where in the world; 'tis an indubitable argument, that they are proceeded from some other than the human mind, or the school of MAN."

In referring to the authors who have illustrated the primary subjects of this Number, I ought not to omit the name of Mr. *Lloyd*, who, in his valuable treatise on *Christian Theology*, has so justly propounded, and so impressively

and eloquently enforced, the leading doctrines of the Christian religion. Were not this Number already carried to an unreasonable length, I should add to it some extracts from his 1st and 2d chapters, which could not fail to enhance its value. From his remarks in the 1st chap. (particularly p. 6—10.) *On the proper provinces of Natural and Revealed Religion,* and from those in the 2d, *On the unity of divine truths displayed in the Jewish and Christian dispensations,* I can promise the judicious reader much satisfaction and instruction.

In bestowing upon *Lord Bolingbroke* the epithet of Sophist, in the preceding number, at p. 247., I feel, upon second thoughts, that I have not been strictly correct in the application of the term. Ingenuity, exerted under a subtle show of reasoning, for the purpose of misleading and over-reaching the controversial opponent, is the distinguishing attribute of the character so denominated. His Lordship, however, has not condescended to deal in this treacherous manner with those whom he combats in argument. His magnanimity, and his candour, are both at war with such mean and petty artifices. The one raises him above the little forms of logical and exact ratiocination; and the other inspires him

with the disdain of concealing from his opponent any vulnerable part. His argument is, accordingly, of that elevated quality, that deals in lofty language and privileged assertion; and of that intrepid character, that fears not, as occasion may demand, to beat down the very positions, which, when other occasions demanded, it had been found convenient to maintain. The noble writer, in short, too courtly to associate with the antiquated followers of Aristotle, and too free to be trammelled by the rules of a precise and circumscribing dialectic, passes on fluently in one smooth and gentlemanly tenor, undisturbed by any want of connexion between premises and conclusion, and at perfect liberty to relinquish either, or both, just as his lordly humour may happen to direct.—To these ingenuous qualities, which exalt his Lordship's *reasoning* above the pedantic exactnesses of *logic*, is superadded an easy freedom which releases his Lordship's *history* from the troublesome punctilios of fact. So that, upon the whole, there is scarcely any writer, who, in a flowing and copious vein of declamation, possesses, in any degree comparable to his Lordship, the art of arriving at whatever conclusion he pleases, and by whatever route: not merely overwhelming the astonished adversary, by a rapid succession of movements the most unexpected, but displaying still greater argumentative powers, in overturning those very dogmas which had just before been rendered

impregnable to all but himself, and thereby defeating the only antagonist worthy to be opposed to so illustrious a disputant.

To be serious, there is no writer of any name, Voltaire perhaps alone excepted, whose attempts upon Christianity are more impotent and contemptible than those of Lord Bolingbroke. The bare enumeration of the positions he has maintained, throughout his *Letters on History*, and what are *called* his *Philosophical Works*, would be an exposure of ignorance and imbecility, sufficient not merely to satisfy truth, but to satiate malice. It was, therefore, scarcely necessary that his deistical productions should have been submitted to the careful dissection of *Clayton*, *Warner*, and *Leland*, and the powerful and merciless lacerations of *Warburton*.* They must soon have done the work for themselves. Having little more than their impiety and their viciousness to recommend them, they must inevitably, excepting only with those to whom impiety and vice are a recommendation, have ere long reached that oblivion, to which, save only with such persons, they are now, I may say, almost universally consigned. On their first publication, it was pro-

* See the *View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy in Four Letters to a Friend*, in which all that fervid vigour and burning severity, for which its author is so distinguished, are overpoweringly exerted for the purpose of laying bare to the public eye the miserable deficiencies of his Lordship, as a philosophical writer, under the several heads of *ingenuity*, of *truth*, of *consistency*, of *learning*, and of *reasoning*.

posed, as the best mode of counteracting their mischievous design, to collect the contradictory passages, and merely arranging them mutually confronted in opposing columns, so to leave them without comment to the reflections of the reader: and, if I mistake not, this idea was acted on by one writer, in a work, entitled an *Analysis of the Philosophical Works of the late Lord Bolingbroke.* This work I have not seen: but so exact a specimen of this nature is supplied by the very part of this writer's works, to which I have had, in the foregoing Number, occasion to refer, that I cannot refuse to produce it for the reader's satisfaction.

Being anxious to prove, in opposition to the received opinion, that the idolatries of the Gentile world could not have been derived from the corruptions of an original Revelation, he peremptorily asserts, that "it is *impossible* for any man in his senses to believe, that a tradition" (namely, that of the unity of God) "derived from God himself, through so few generations, was lost among the greatest part of mankind; or that Polytheism and Idolatry were established on the ruins of it, in the days of Serug, before those of Abraham, and so soon after the deluge." (*Philos. Works*, 8vo. Ed. vol. i. p. 299.) At the distance of less than two pages, we find it as peremptorily asserted, by the same extraordinary writer, that "Polytheism and Idolatry have the *closest connexion* with the natures and affections

of rude ignorant men:" and in less than half a page more, that "the vulgar embrace them *easily, even after the true doctrine of a divine unity has been taught and received*, as we may learn from the example of the Israelites: and that superstitions grow *apace*, and spread wide, even in those countries where Christianity has been established and is daily taught, as we may learn from the examples of the Roman churches," &c.—But this is not all. We find this same writer again, in vol. ii. p. 200—210., both deny the *fact*, that the divine unity had been taught to the Israelites and soon forgotten by them (which is the very *example* he builds upon in the above passage), and also the *application* of that fact to the case of other nations (which application is the very use he has himself made of that fact).—And then, after all this, and almost in the same breath in which he has made these assertions, he draws back again in part, and says, "I do not *so much deny* the truth of the facts, as I oppose their application." (p. 210.) That is,—I cannot resist the recapitulation,—our author first denies a certain fact as *impossible*: then establishes its strong *probability* upon general principles of human nature, supported by an *example* drawn from the case of the Israelites, and *applied* to that of mankind at large: then he both denies the truth of that very *example*, and the justness of its *application* (both of which are his own undisputed property): and then again he admits

them both, in certain (but different) degrees; since he does *not so much deny the one, as he opposes the other.* What does all this mean? Is it, or is it not, nonsense? Have we not here, then, (to use the sort of pleasant and sportive phrase, that might not improbably have been used by such writers as his Lordship,) in beating about for game, sprung a whole covey of contradictions, which, after winging their tortuous course in all directions, have at last sought shelter, by taking flight into the impenetrable thickets of nonsense? Now what is to be done with such a writer as this? The author of the memoirs of his life, whilst he speaks in terms much too strong of his qualities as a statesman, remarks, in alluding to the excursions which, as an author, he had ventured to make beyond his proper sphere: "I should be sorry, that you took your politics from priests; but I should be in more pain if I thought you in danger of receiving your religion from a politician." *Memoirs of the Life of Lord Bolingbroke*, p. 232.

In truth, to sum up all in a word, my Lord Bolingbroke was no more than a coxcomb in literature, and a pretender in science. Nor has religion, though the principal object of his hostility, so much to complain of his bungling attempts as philosophy: at the same time that both have experienced more of malevolence, than injury, at his hands. With him, the great sages of antiquity have been as much the objects

of lordly contempt, as the Prophets and Apostles; and the maxims of ancient wisdom have been held as cheap as the established doctrines of Revelation. Whatever, in short, is not Lord Bolingbroke, is not sense. All, whether ancient or modern, who have trod the same ground before him, historians, chronologists, moralists, philosophers, divines, all are either blockheads or impostors. And even Locke and Newton dwindle into drivellers, where they have presumed to meddle with those subjects, which the *Viscount* condescends to illustrate.—(*Phil. Works*, vol. ii. Essay 3. ubique, especially p. 160.)

The treatment which the truly wise and learned, both of ancient and modern times, constantly receive at his Lordship's hands, naturally calls to mind the sarcasm of Crito in Berkeley's *Alciphron*.—"I tell you, Euphranor, that Plato and Tully might perhaps make a figure in Athens or Rome: but were they to revive in our days, they would pass but for underbred pedants, there being at most coffee-houses in London several able men who could convince them they knew nothing, in what they are valued so much for, morals and politics." And Lysicles immediately subjoins, "How many long-headed men do I know, both in the court-end and the city, with five times Plato's sense, who care not one straw, what notions their sons have of God or virtue!" —*Berkeley's Works*, vol. i. pp. 369, 370. The versatility, also, with which this noble writer can,

at one time, affect grave and learned research, and at another, as it may suit his purpose, profess to hold all such pedantic argumentation in contempt, is most happily illustrated, in the same admirable treatise, by the picture which is there drawn, of the Proteus shiftings and modifications of the free-thinking tribe.—"When one of these has got a ring of disciples around him, his method is, to exclaim against prejudice, and recommend thinking and reasoning; giving to understand that himself is a man of deep researches and close argument, one who examines impartially and concludes warily. The same man, in other company, if he chance to be pressed with reason, shall laugh at logic, and assume the lazy supine airs of a fine gentleman, a wit, a railleur, to avoid the dryness of a regular and exact enquiry. This double face of the *Minute Philosopher*, is of no small use to propagate and maintain his notions. Though to me it seems a plain case, that if a fine gentleman will shake off all authority, and appeal from religion to reason, unto reason he must go." (pp. 460, 461.) But the truth is, as the same writer again remarks (p. 639.), "that in the present age thinking is more talked of but less practised than in ancient times; and that, since the revival of learning, men have read much and wrote much, but thought (comparatively) little: insomuch that, with us, to think closely and justly is the least part of a learned man, and none at all of a polite man. The free-

thinkers, indeed, make great pretensions to thinking, and yet they show but little exactness in it. A lively man, and what the world calls a man of sense, are often destitute of this talent, which is not a mere gift of nature, but must be improved and perfected by much attention and exercise on very different subjects; a thing of more pains and time than the hasty men of parts in our age care to take."

What time *our* man of parts employed for this purpose, may easily be inferred from the circumstance, of his having *commenced* his philosophical investigations at the age of *forty*, after a youth revelled in the most voluptuous and dissipating enjoyments, and a manhood distracted by the most tumultuous political agitations. But it is full time to have done with him: I shall therefore only add to what I have said upon so unworthy a subject, by referring the reader, who can have any curiosity to know more of such a man, to the characters that have been given of him, by Chesterfield and by Blair. The latter concludes a very qualified commendation of his *style*, by observing, that in his *matter* there is "hardly any thing to commend; that in his reasonings, for the most part, he is flimsy and false: in his political writings, factious; in what he calls his philosophical ones, irreligious and sophistical in the highest degree."—*Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric*, vol. i. Lect. xix. p. 282. See also the observations in Lect. xv. p. 211. of the same volume.

The former gives such an account of him, upon the whole, as must be edifying, particularly, to the young reader; who will thereby be completely let into the secret of such men, by one of themselves; and will have the benefit of observing how much even a libertine, when in cold blood, can be shocked by libertinism. One or two passages I cannot avoid transcribing, as proving how greatly, even from the testimony of his warmest admirer, Lord Bolingbroke is found deficient in every thing that is truly valuable, either in a philosopher or in a man. His noble panegyrist, in recommending to his son to study the *manner*, that would best enable him "to seduce and to impose," proposes to him Lord Bolingbroke's style and mode of writing, for his imitation, in direct *opposition* to works of learning and sound reasoning, which he particularly decries: and, after pressing upon him, again and again, the repeated perusal of Lord Bolingbroke's writings, he assigns as his reason for so doing, that he wishes him "to lay aside all thoughts of all that dull fellows call *solid*, and exert his utmost care to acquire what people of fashion call *shining*."—*Chest. Letters*, vol. iii. p. 151. And in another place, where he speaks of the whole of that unhappy Lord's character, he is obliged, though with much softening, to describe him as "a most mortifying instance of the violence of human passions, and of the weakness of" (what he chooses to call) "the most

exalted human reason."—"His youth (he says) was distinguished by all the tumult and storm of pleasures, in which he most licentiously triumphed, disdaining all decorum. His fine imagination has often been heated and exhausted with his body, in celebrating and deifying the prostitute of the night; and his convivial joys were pushed to all the extravagancy of frantic Bacchanals. Those passions were interrupted but by a stronger, ambition. The former impaired both his constitution and his character, but the latter destroyed both his fortune and his reputation." Vol. ii. p. 328.

Such was the Pythagorean institution of this great philosopher, who was to be qualified, by these intense lucubrations, to communicate new lights to mankind, and to improve the world by a juster set of notions in morals and philosophy. The noble characterizer, after glossing over these hideous enormities, and contrasting with them what he is pleased to represent as splendid qualities, is compelled, after all, to conclude, in words no less applicable to the insincere and unprincipled writer, than to his subject: "Upon the whole, of this extraordinary man, what can we say, but, Alas, poor human nature!—Poor, indeed, when it presumptuously rejects those aids which Heaven designed to minister to its weakness, and to rectify its corruption.

In a course of observations, in which I have insensibly been drawn to enlarge at so much

length, upon the subjects of free-thinking and scepticism, it is impossible to forget *David Hume.* The ideas suggested in the progress of it bring into view, by necessary association, this chief of modern sophists; who, whether the precedence be determined by the boldness of impiety, the contempt of truth, the perplexities of disputation, or the inconsistencies and contradictions in reasoning, — is undoubtedly entitled to the first place in the list of British infidels. The leading subject also of the discussion, in which we are at present engaged, naturally summons him to our tribunal. For, as his philosophic forerunner, Bolingbroke, has bestowed much unprofitable labour on the questions of polytheism and the divine unity, the same questions solicit the minutest investigations of this author, especially in his treatise upon the* *Natural History of Religion;* a title, which, as has been remarked, contains a form of expression much as proper as if he had spoken of the *Moral History of Meteors.* And here, having positively pronounced, that "Polytheism MUST have been the first, *and most*

* On this treatise Warburton makes the following observations, in a letter to his friend Hurd. "The Essay is to establish an atheistic naturalism, like Bolingbroke: and he goes upon one of Bolingbroke's capital arguments, that idolatry and polytheism were before the worship of the one God. It is full of absurdities. They say this man has several moral qualities. It may be so. But there are vices of the mind as well as body: and a wickeder heart, and more determined to do public mischief, I think, I never knew." *Letters of a late eminent Prelate,* p. 239.

ancient," (which certainly *may* be admitted, if it was the *first,*) "religion of mankind:" (*Essays,* vol. ii. p. 402.) and having affirmed it to be an *incontestable fact,* that about 1700 years back *all* mankind were Polytheists; (p. 403.) and that, *as far as history reaches,* mankind appear *universally* to have been Polytheists; at the same time that he does not pretend to be ignorant, that about 1700 years back, there was in existence such a book as the Old Testament, and such a history as that of Josephus; and that he himself informs us, (p. 433.) that it appears from Herodotus, that "the Getæ were genuine Theists and Unitarians:"—having, I say, thus dogmatised as became a sceptic, and falsified as became an historian, he proceeds, in a manner perfectly his own, to show what never had been dreamt of before, not even in the craziest reveries of a Bolingbroke, that the notion of the *Divine Unity* had sprung up from the blundering conceptions of THE VULGAR, and that it demanded the reasoning powers of THE PHILOSOPHERS to restore again the old system of a *plurality of Gods!*

This will hardly be credited. Let the reader therefore turn to the precious original, (p. 435.) where he will find the manner fully described, in which this notion takes its rise amongst *the vulgar;* for of these it is that he has been speaking throughout the preceding page. "Men's exaggerated praises and compliments still swell their idea upon them; and elevating their deities

to the utmost bounds of perfection, at last beget the attributes of *Unity and Infinity, simplicity* and *spirituality.*" Thus, then, the ONE, INFINITE, UNCOMPOUNDED, and SPIRITUAL *first Cause*, springs, as we see, out of the tendencies of the *vulgar* to *praise and panegyric.* But, immediately after, we find, that this is a height too giddy for those who have thus risen to it, and that it is necessary that they should be quietly let down again to the firmer and more peaceful footing of Polytheism. For, "such refined ideas, being somewhat disproportioned to VULGAR COMPREHENSION" (although having *grown naturally* out of vulgar conception), "remain not long in their original purity; but require to be supported by the notion of inferior mediators or subordinate agents, which interpose between mankind and their supreme Deity. These demi-gods, or middle beings, partaking more of human nature, and being more familiar to us, become the chief objects of devotion, and gradually recall that idolatry which had been formerly banished by the ardent prayers and panegyrics of timorous, indigent mortals."—See also pp. 429, 430., or rather the whole of the extraordinary reasoning upon this subject in the 6th, 7th, and 8th sections.—Thus, then, we see, that the *vulgar*, in their high flights of *praise* and *panegyric*, rose to the discovery of a *first Cause;* while a set of *wiser men**

* In truth, Mr. Hume himself seems entitled to rank amongst those *wiser men*, as he has been able to discover

we must suppose called in to restore the mob of middle deities to their pristine honours, since the

---

many advantages in the scheme of polytheism. "For," he says, "if we examine, without prejudice, the ancient heathen mythology, as contained in the poets, we shall not discover in it any such monstrous absurdity, as we may at first be apt to apprehend. Where is the difficulty in conceiving, that the same powers or principles, *whatever they were*, which formed this visible world, men and animals, produced also a species of intelligent creatures of more refined substance, and greater authority than the rest? That these creatures may be capricious, revengeful, passionate, voluptuous, is easily conceived; nor is any circumstance more apt among ourselves to engender such vices than the licence of absolute authority. And, in short, the whole mythological system is *so natural*, that, in the variety of planets and worlds contained in this universe, it seems *more than probable*, that somewhere or other it is really carried into execution." *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 242.— Thus the cautious investigator, whose scepticism will not yield to the proofs of the existence of *one* God, sees no difficulty in admitting it as *more than probable* that there are *many*. In this system of polytheism, also, our philosopher finds many advantages. For "where the Deity is represented, as infinitely superior to mankind; this belief, though altogether just, when joined with superstitious terrors, is apt to sink the human mind in the lowest submission and abasement, and to represent the monkish virtues of mortification, penance, humility, and passive suffering, as the only qualities which are acceptable to him. But where the gods are conceived to be only a little superior to mankind, and to have been many of them advanced from that inferior rank, we are *more at our ease* in our addresses to them, and may even, without profaneness, aspire sometimes to a rivalship and emulation of them: hence activity, spirit, courage, magnanimity, love of liberty, and all the virtues which aggrandize a people." Ibid. p. 440. Our author has forgotten to add, that in our aspirings to a rivalship with these nearer gods, that he proposes as the objects of our addresses, we might rise also to that capricious-

purpose is to suit the objects of worship to *vulgar comprehensions.* And so we find, that, under the direction of this wonder-working χορηγὸς, the philosophers and the people are made at once to change sides, and act each other's parts; the *people* taking to themselves the *discovery of the first Cause,* and the *philosophers,* in return, the *discovery of demi-gods and middle beings.* Unless, indeed, as Bishop Hurd says, the *people* are supposed to have done both; "discovered the *unity* in their *blind, timorous,* and *indigent* state; and, when they were so *well informed,* struck out, in a lucky moment, their gross system of *Polytheism.*"* On this, and the whole mon-

---

ness, revengefulness, passionateness, voluptuousness, and other such qualities with which he has been pleased to invest them, and which qualities seem in the view of himself and Mr. Gibbon to be the principal ingredients in that "*elegant mythology,*" which they would so strongly recommend to our admiration. It has been well remarked, by an eloquent and interesting writer, that anti-christian writers, while they are giving us their opinions, may in truth be giving us more; may be discovering their *morals,* while they mean to teach us only their *creed:* and thus may carry, like Bellerophon, their own condemnation, while they imagine they are, graciously, conveying intelligence and new light to mankind. So that the old proverb, *Bellerophontis Literæ,* may be a proper motto for the learned labours of them all.— *Young's Centaur,* p. 29.

* *Diderot,* indeed, in his execrable *Systême de la Nature,* has completed the view of this subject, that had been so imperfectly sketched by *Bolingbroke* and *Hume.* He has manfully undertaken to prove, not only that Polytheism must have been, in the early ages of the world, the necessary result of men's observation of nature; but that it must be much more

strous assemblage of falsehoods, inconsistencies, and nonsense, with which this extraordinary *Essay** is stuffed, I would refer the young reader to the *Remarks on Mr. David Hume's Essay on the Natural History of Religion*, in which† Dr. Hurd has so successfully employed the weapons, with which his friend Warburton had, just before, transfixed the brother-infidel, Bolingbroke.

Yet such writers as these, such writers as *Hume* and *Bolingbroke*, (at least until their ignorance, falsehood, and absurdities, had become sufficiently notorious to expose their followers to the like imputations,) it had been the fashion to extol and admire. How such writers could ever

---

so *now, that the course and progress of philosophy has tended to remove men's prejudices!* — This completely relieves Hume's argument from all its perplexities.

* Dr. Nares, in his admirable collection of sermons, preached at the Bampton Lecture, in 1805, pronounces, respecting this extraordinary production, that, if he wished to satisfy any person of the indispensable necessity of a divine Revelation in the first ages of the world, upon the infidel's own view of things, he would refer him at once to *Mr. Hume's Natural History of Religion.* (*Nares's Bampton Lectures*, p. 485.) And Dr. Maclaine says of the same work, in his *Letters to Mr. Soame Jenyns*, that perhaps no book is more adapted to show the unspeakable advantages of a divine Revelation.

† This work has been here, agreeably to the hitherto commonly received opinion, ascribed to Bishop Hurd. But, from the Letters of Bishop Warburton lately published, it now appears, that it was the production of his own pen, and received only some additional colouring from his literary friend. See a curious account of this transaction in the *Letters of a late eminent Prelate*, pp. 239, 240.

have obtained followers, may at first sight, indeed, appear difficult to explain. The difficulty, however, admits a satisfactory solution; and one which has been so justly given by a late respected writer, that I shall content myself with the mere repetition of what he has said upon the subject. Having remarked, that, in his *Treatise of Human Nature*, Mr. Hume's vain love of singularity had led him to endeavour to involve even the fundamental principles of *geometry* in confusion; but that, finding it impossible by his paradoxes on such a subject to rouse the attention of the public, he turned himself to *moral paradoxes;* this writer goes on to show, that Mr. Hume in doing so had calculated rightly, for that these, "when men begin to look about for arguments in vindication of impiety, debauchery, and injustice, become wonderfully interesting, and can hardly fail of a powerful and numerous patronage. The corrupt judge; the prostituted courtier; the statesman, who enriches himself by the plunder and blood of his country; the pettifogger, who fattens on the spoils of the fatherless and widow; the oppressor, who, to pamper his beastly appetite, abandons the deserving peasant to beggary and despair; the hypocrite; the debauchee; the gamester; the blasphemer;—prick up their ears when they are told, that a celebrated author has written a book full of such comfortable doctrines as the following:—That justice is not a natural but an artificial virtue, depending wholly on the

arbitrary institutions of men, and previous to the establishment of civil society not at all incumbent:—that moral, intellectual, and corporeal virtue, are all of the same kind; in other words, that to want honesty, to want understanding, and to want a leg, are equally the objects of moral disapprobation, and that it is no more a man's duty to be grateful or pious, than to have the genius of Homer, or the strength and beauty of Achilles:—that every human action is necessary, and could not have been different from what it is:—that when we speak of power as an attribute of any being, God himself not excepted, we use words without meaning:—that we can form no idea of power, nor of any being endued with any power, *much less* of one endued with infinite power: and that we can never have reason to believe that any object or quality of an object exists, of which we cannot form an idea:—that it is unreasonable to believe God to be infinitely wise and good, while there is any evil or disorder in the universe; and that we have no good reason to think that the universe proceeds from a cause:—that the external material world does not exist; and that if the external world be once called in doubt as to its existence, we shall be at a loss to find arguments by which we may prove the being of God, or any of his attributes:—that those who believe *any* thing certainly are fools:—*that adultery must be practised, if men would obtain all the advantages of life; that if generally practised,*

it would soon cease to be scandalous; and that, if practised secretly and frequently, it would by degrees come to be thought no crime at all:—

* "My inquiry concerning the *Principles of Morals* is of all my writings, historical, philosophical, or literary, incomparably the *best.*" *Hume's Life*, p. vii. — The passage, referred to above, affords an excellent specimen of the writer's qualifications as a *moral* instructer. And yet it is of *such a man as this*, that *such a man as Adam Smith* has delivered the following testimony: — "I have always considered Mr. Hume, both in his lifetime and since his death, as approaching as nearly to the idea of a PERFECTLY WISE AND VIRTUOUS MAN, as perhaps the nature of human frailty will permit." — *Letter from Adam Smith, LL.D. to W. Strahan, Esq.* annexed to *Hume's Life*, and prefixed to the late edition of *Hume's History of England.* — For the reception which such a declaration as this so amply merited, I refer the reader to Bishop Horne's *Letter to Dr. Adam Smith:* in which, as well as in the *Letters on Infidelity* at large, he will find the ablest and most incontestable confutation of Hume and his infidel associates.

In truth, the extract from Hume on the subject of adultery appeared to me so monstrous, that, with some doubts of Dr. Beattie's accuracy, I turned to the original to ascertain its fairness, and there found the following justification of the reporter: — "It is needless to dissemble. The consequence of a very free commerce between the sexes, and of their living much together, will often terminate in intrigues and gallantry. *We must sacrifice somewhat of the useful, if we be very anxious to obtain all the agreeable qualities; and cannot pretend to reap alike every advantage.* Instances of licence daily multiplying will weaken the scandal with the one sex, and teach the other by degrees to adopt the famous maxim of La Fontaine, with regard to female infidelity; *that if one knows it, it is but a small matter; if one knows it not, it is nothing.*" (*Hume's Essays*, vol. ii. p. 394.) Again (p. 255.) he contends, that the necessary "combination of the parents for the subsistence of their young is that alone which requires the virtue of chastity

that the question concerning the substance of the soul is unintelligible:—that matter and motion may often be regarded as the cause of thought:—that the soul of man becomes every different moment a different being; so that the actions I performed last year, or yesterday, or this morning, whether virtuous or vicious, are no more imputable to me, than the virtues of Aristides are imputable to Nero, or the crimes of

---

or fidelity to the married bed. Without such a utility, it will readily be owned (he asserts) that *such a virtue would never be thought of.*" And, this being a favourite subject with this writer, whose Inquiry concerning the *Principles of Morals*, is boasted of by himself as his best work, he proceeds to enlarge upon it in an additional note, (p. 490.) in which he calls in the aid of Greek to sustain him in his philosophic profligacy, and, referring all notions of virtue and vice to *public utility*, asks, with an air of final triumph,—"And indeed *to what other purpose than that of utility do all the ideas of chastity and modesty serve?*"—This is the PERFECTLY WISE AND VIRTUOUS MAN of Adam Smith.

Dr. Aikin's remarks (in the *General Biography*) on this extraordinary language of Dr. Smith, although not pressing upon the parts of Hume's writings here adverted to, deserve to be noticed. "We may (he says) reasonably demur to Dr. Smith's moral estimate, in attributing the perfection of virtue to a man, whose *leading principle* was, by his own confession, SELFISH (the acquisition of literary fame), and who never seems to have made any of those sacrifices of interest and inclination to public good, in which virtuous action chiefly consists. Further, whatever degree of freedom of discussion may be justifiable, with the benefit of mankind in view, it may be doubted whether a mere fondness for speculation, or a love of philosophic applause, will morally excuse a writer, for sporting with opinions which are commonly held of the highest importance to human welfare."

Nero to the man of Ross."—*Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, by Dr. Beattie*, p. 111—113. See also pp. 315, 316., where many other doctrines equally rational and valuable are to be found, together with the references to those parts of Mr. Hume's works in which they are contained.

But this is not all. Mr. Hume had not done enough, it seems, for the extinction of religion and the subversion of morals; but, with a zeal bespeaking his fidelity to the master whom he served, he left behind him blasphemies to be published after his death, which even *he* was afraid to publish whilst he lived. So, indeed, his great admirer tells us, in his *Apology for the Life and Writings of David Hume:* whose posthumous papers, he says, would probably "carry his philosophy still nearer to THAT POINT, which he might not think it DISCREET to *push too vigorously* in his lifetime." What THAT POINT was, is but too evident on a single glance at the works which he thus bequeathed for the public benefit. The *Dialogues on Natural Religion*, and the *Essay on Suicide*, are standing monuments of a heart as wicked, and a head as weak, as ever belonged to any man who pretended to the character of a philosopher and a moralist. To leave deliberately, as a legacy to mankind, a recommendation of SELF-MURDER, and an assurance that there is NO GOD, at the very moment when he was himself about to appear before the

bar of that dread Being; and, whilst thus occupied for the destruction of his fellow-creatures, to amuse himself with pleasant conceits about *Charon* and his *ferry-boat*, (as his biographer informs us he did, when he was almost dropping into his grave,) has something in it so frightful, that one naturally recoils from the thought of it with horror. It seems to be equalled only by the hideous impiety of Diderot, who adduces it as a decisive proof of the non-existence of a God, that he was permitted to write a work filled with blasphemies against his nature, and arguments against his being.*

Having, however, made mention of this valuable bequest of Mr. Hume, I cannot deny the reader the satisfaction of knowing somewhat of the precious materials of which it consists. And first, as to his *Dialogues*. He there exhibits various modes, in which the world may have been produced; all of which he pronounces to be to the full as satisfactory, as that of a creation by the will of the Deity. *Generation* or *vegetation*, he says, will answer the purpose: and the latter process, which he prefers, he thus particularly explains: "In like manner as a tree sheds its seed into the neighbouring fields, and pro-

* "Si ce Dieu tout puissant est jaloux de ses prérogatives, — comment permet-il, qu'un mortel comme moi ose attaquer ses droits, ses titres, son existence même?" Vol. ii. p. 60. of *Systême de la Nature;* a work which was published under the name of *Mirabaud*, but is supposed with good reason to have had the atrocious *Diderot* for its author.

duces other trees, so the great vegetable, the world, or this planetary system, produces within itself certain seeds, which, being scattered into the surrounding chaos, vegetate into new worlds. A comet, for instance, is the seed of a world: and after it has been fully ripened, by passing from sun to sun, and star to star, it is at last tossed into the unformed elements which every where surround this universe, and immediately sprouts up into a new system." (*Dialogues*, p. 132.) But, as this process of vegetable production supposes a mother vegetable already in existence, or a world already in being, so accurate a reasoner could not but account for the formation of the first world, from which all others are to sprout. And this he does in two ways, that he may the better satisfy all descriptions of readers. Either such a process has been going on from eternity; or a world might have been formed originally thus: — "A finite number of particles is only susceptible of finite transpositions: and it must happen in an eternal duration, that every possible position must be tried. — The continual motion of matter, therefore, in less than infinite transpositions, must produce order; and order, when once established, supports itself." (*Dialogues*, pp. 146. 149.) — Now must not *Ephraim Jenkinson*, and his *cosmogonies*, hide their diminished heads, on a comparison with this *Philosopher* and his *sublime inventions?* How far inferior also was the object of the former

sage to that proposed by the latter! The one but sought to cheat the honest *Vicar of Wakefield* of his horse, but the other looks to the more glorious attainment, of cheating mankind of their trust in a God, and their hopes of a futurity. — How meagre and unphilosophical is the first chapter of Genesis, compared with such lofty speculations as these of Mr. Hume!

If we turn, now, to that other valuable performance, the *Essay on Suicide**, there we find truths no less momentous, and reasonings no less acute, than those which the former had exhibited. He informs us, that the whole scope of man's creation is limited to the present life: — that the life of a man is of no greater importance than that of an oyster: — and as it is admitted that there is no crime in diverting the Nile or the Danube from their courses, so he contends there can be none, *in turning a few ounces of blood from their natural channel:* and so, upon the whole, he peremptorily concludes in favour of self-murder! He goes farther: and, to satisfy the conscience of the *Theist*, he maintains, that, on the supposition of a God, we are acting under the *direction* of Providence, when we put an end to our existence: and, again, to satisfy

* Some of Mr. Hume's admirers became so much ashamed of this monstrous and absurd performance, that they were led to deny that it ever came from his pen. Whoever wishes for a complete proof of his being the author, may consult the Monthly Review for 1784, vol. lxx. p. 427.

the conscience of the *Christian*, he endeavours to evince the *lawfulness of suicide under the Christian dispensation.* The last point, indeed, it has been remarked, it is not difficult to make out, provided the liberty of putting two texts together be permitted:—thus, *Judas departed, and went and hanged himself.—Go and do thou likewise.* Mr. Hume's arguments are little better.

So much for this *paragon of modern metaphysicians;* this *deep thinker* and *acute reasoner*, whom it was at one time so much the fashion with witlings and libertines to extol. As to certain advantages of style, Mr. Hume, no doubt, possessed them; but as to his *reasoning*, nothing under that name can be more contemptible. This, indeed, seems now pretty generally admitted: and few, who have any regard for the opinion of men of sense, would, at this day, venture to support the paradoxes, and adduce the arguments, of David Hume. By the species of reasoning adopted by that writer, Dr. Beattie has well remarked, it would be easy to prove any doctrine: and to evince this, he supplies the following RECIPE, as conveying the whole mystery of the manufacture of *his* metaphysical paradoxes. "—Take a word (an abstract term is the most convenient) which admits of more than one signification: and, by the help of a predicate or copula, form a proposition suitable to your system, or to your humour, or to any other thing you please, except truth.

When laying down your premisses, you are to use the name of the quality or subject, in one sense; and, when inferring your conclusion, in another. You are then to urge a few equivocal facts very slightly examined (the more slightly the better) as a further proof of the said conclusion; and to shut up all with citing some ancient authorities, either real or fictitious, as may best suit your purpose. A few occasional strictures on religion as an unphilosophical thing, and a sneer at the *Whole Duty of Man*, or any other good book, will give your dissertation what many are pleased to call a *liberal turn;* and will go near to convince the world, that you are *a candid philosopher, a manly free-thinker, and a very fine writer.*" (*Essay on Truth*, p. 309.) This gives by no means an exaggerated idea of Mr. Hume's mode of conducting his metaphysical disquisitions; so that, what has been said of his *Dialogues*, may be applied, with truth, to almost all his reasonings on moral or religious subjects:—namely, that they cannot possibly hurt any man of a philosophical turn, or even any man of common sense: that they may serve, indeed, to confirm the giddy, the profligate, and the unprincipled, in their prejudices against religion and virtue, but must be despised by every man who has the smallest grain of seriousness or reflection.

Gray's estimate of his character I cannot prevail upon myself to suppress, not only because

it comes from a man of real genius, learning, and reflection, but because it must be admitted to be altogether untinctured with the supposed prejudices of a divine.—"I have always thought David Hume a pernicious writer, and believe he has done as much mischief here as in his own country. *A turbid and shallow stream often appears to our apprehensions very deep.* A professed sceptic can be guided by nothing but his present passions (if he has any), and his interests; and to be masters of his philosophy we need not his book or advice, for every child is capable of the same thing, without any study at all. Is not that *naïveté* and good humour, which his admirers celebrate in him, owing to this, that he has continued all his days an infant, but one that unhappily has been taught to read and write? That childish nation, the French, have given him vogue and fashion, and we, as usual, have learned from them to admire him at second hand." (*Mason's Gray**, vol. ii. pp. 249, 250.)

* For some admirable and beautiful remarks by the same author, on the *Materialists*, and upon *Lord Shaftesbury*, and particularly on *Lord Bolingbroke* and his *Philosophical Works*, see the same volume, p. 118—125. With respect to *Hume*, we are informed by Mr. Ritchie, that he was particularly stung by the severe animadversions of *Gray*. For, as the biographer adds, "notwithstanding the eulogium which he sometimes bestows on the equanimity of his own temper, it is known, that he felt the attacks on his literary reputation with exquisite sensibility: and although he persevered in the resolution of writing no answers to his antagonists (except in the single case of his quarrel with Rousseau), he did not

There are two striking features in the character of Hume, which have not been adverted to in the sketch here drawn of him by Gray:—his *disingenuousness*, and his *bigotry*.

To couple the term *bigot** with the name of *David Hume*, may at first sight appear to partake of his own paradox. But it should be considered, that bigotry is not necessarily connected with religious belief; and that it is no less possible to display its invincible prejudices, by an irrational and intolerant zeal against, than for, religion. Now, undoubtedly, in this sense, no man has

---

always receive the criticisms of others with the apathy he professes." *Account of the Life and Writings of David Hume*, p. 301. Indeed, if we yield credit to the account given of him in the *London Review* for 1777, we shall pronounce him one of the most choleric, instead of being one of the calmest, of philosophers. His *Treatise of Human Nature* having experienced considerable severity of criticism in a publication entitled, *The Works of the Learned*, the author (as the Review states) became so highly provoked, that "he flew into a violent rage to demand satisfaction of Jacob Robinson the publisher; whom he kept, during the paroxysm of his anger, at his sword's point, trembling lest a period should be put to the life of a sober critic by a raving philosopher." — It is well known, also, that his resentment against Dr. Beattie was so violent, that he could hardly put upon it any decent restraint.

* I find, indeed, from an anecdote in *Ritchie's Life of Hume*, that I have his own authority for this epithet. For, as his biographer informs us, his reply to a friend, who jocularly threatened him with writing an account of his life and character, was, that as to his character he would himself give it in a single sentence; "candid and liberal with respect to the prejudices of others, *bigoted* with respect to his own."

proved himself more of a bigot than Hume. Far from being the calm and philosophic inquirer which he pretends to be, he is evidently influenced by an insatiable zeal for the propagation of his Atheistical tenets; and his intolerant and persecuting spirit against those who oppose the adoption of his infidel creed is every where manifested by his furious abuse of all who are tenacious of their Christian hopes, but more particularly of the clergy, and these, too, of every religious persuasion, without distinction. Of this, abundant proofs are to be met with in almost every part of his writings; but more especially in his 21st Essay, on *National Characters*, (*Essays*, vol. i. p. 215.) where, and in the annexed note T, he pronounces "priests of all religions to be the same," and goes on laboriously to prove, that a PRIEST, *as such*, MUST *be destitute of every virtue, and possessed by almost every vice.* How strongly Horace Walpole, (whom I particularly name, as not having any undue leaning towards Revelation, and as being, it must be supposed, tolerably free from that *odium theologicum*, which our author so plentifully charges against the clergy,)—how strongly, I say, he condemns this intolerant zeal in this man of pretended moderation and philosophic calmness, may be seen on looking into his works.*—Now, surely, this is a most

* Lord Orford, indeed, omits no opportunity of expressing his dislike and even contempt of the common run of what are called *Geniuses*, and *Philosophers*, in modern times. "No

unreasonable intrusion into what our author so willingly admits to be the exclusive province of the clergy. There is some excuse for warmth, in the man who perceives an attempt to rob him of what he holds most precious; but there is none for the man, who makes that attempt, flying into a passion, because it is resisted.

Again, as to the *disingenuousness* of Hume; this is sufficiently manifest on the inspection of his works. The instances adduced by the various writers who have taken the trouble to expose his flimsy sophisms are so multiplied, as to render it unnecessary to dwell upon this subject. Of these writers, in addition to the authors of the well-known answers to his *Essay on Miracles* (an essay which but for adventitious circumstances could not have deserved an answer), I would particularly recommend to the young reader, *Dr.*

Genius I have known (says he) has had common sense enough to balance the impertinence of their pretensions. THEY HATE PRIESTS, BUT LOVE DEARLY TO HAVE AN ALTAR AT THEIR FEET: for which reason it is much pleasanter to read them than to know them." (*Lord Orford's Works*, vol. v. p. 421.) This observation, though immediately directed against Rousseau, who was at this time introduced into England by Hume, was manifestly not designed exclusively for him. And although Hume is frequently spoken of in terms apparently favourable, yet even in his Lordship's letters to Hume himself (vol. iv. p. 260—265.), the cutting sarcasms and contemptuous sneers against authors and philosophers of a certain class, sufficiently intimate in what light the noble author really viewed the Scotch as well as the French philosopher.

Beattie, and Bishops *Hurd* and *Horne*, who have, in the works already alluded to in this Postscript, exhibited this imposing and deceitful infidel in his true colours. Nor is it only in matter of *reasoning*, but in matter of *fact*, that he stands convicted of dishonesty. No writer, perhaps, has established this more clearly than Dr. Elrington, in his *Donnellan Lecture Sermons*, to which I refer particularly at pages 233, 234. and 296—302.

It is but fair, however, to confess, that Mr. Hume has not confined altogether to religious subjects his talent of disingenuous representation. His unfaithfulness, and gross partiality, as an *historian*, have been long pretty generally acknowledged: and it has been pronounced by judicious and candid writers, upon the subject of English history, that the History which Mr. Hume has given to the world is a most injurious work to put into the hands of the British youth, in order to give them just ideas of the history or constitution of England. Dr. Towers, in his *Observations on Mr. Hume's History*, says, that "fidelity, accuracy, and impartiality, are requisite in an historian: and that in these Mr. Hume is greatly deficient."—Dr. Gilbert Stuart also points out, in his *View of Society in Europe*, (see particularly pp. 320. 323. 326.) many gross and wilful errors in the *Historian*:—and, at p. 327. he fully demonstrates how unfit Mr. Hume was for the task which he undertook.—"Mr. Hume (he says), struck with the talents of Dr. Brady, de-

ceived by his ability, disposed to pay adulation to government, or willing to profitby a system, formed with art, and ready for adoption, has executed his history upon the tenets of this writer. Yet, of Dr. Brady it ought to be remembered, that he was the slave of a faction, and that he meanly prostituted an excellent understanding, to vindicate tyranny, and to destroy the rights of his nation. With *no less pertinacity*, but with an air of greater candour, Mr. Hume has employed himself to the *same purposes:* and his history, from its beginning to its conclusion, is chiefly to be regarded as a plausible defence of prerogative. No friend to humanity, and to the freedom of this kingdom, will consider his constitutional inquiries, *with their effect upon his narrative*, and compare them with the ancient and venerable monuments of our story, without feeling a lively surprise, and a patriot indignation." Mr. Fox also, in his late celebrated work, speaks of the continual display, in Hume's History, of his "partiality to kings and princes, as intolerable. Nay (he adds), it is, in my opinion, quite ridiculous; and is more like the foolish admiration which women and children sometimes have for kings, than the opinion, right or wrong, of a philosopher."—And a set of writers, whose national partialities would not indispose them to Hume, agree fully in this sentiment. "Few things (they say) seem more unaccountable and, indeed, absurd, than that Hume should have

taken part with *high church* and *high monarchy* men. The persecutions which he suffered in his youth from the Presbyterians may, perhaps, have influenced his *ecclesiastical partialities.* But that he should have sided with the Tudors and the Stuarts against the people, seems quite inconsistent with all the *great traits of his character.*" (*Edinb. Review,* vol. xii. p. 276.)—What great traits of character? We have already seen what *they* amount to. No, no: the man who is not influenced by a love of truth must be destitute of principle. And, in such a character, inconsistencies must abound. Where there is no standard to refer to, no anchor to hold fast, what can be expected but perpetual vacillation? The man who laboured to traduce Scripture would not fail to falsify history. He, who could be blind to the grandeur and glory of the Christian dispensation, could not easily discover the beauty and sublimity of the British constitution. And we need not be surprised to find the same man a renegade in religion, and a slave in politics.

The mischievous and dishonest uses, also, to which Hume perverts his history, should not pass without observation. Mere historic falsehood had lost much of its interest in the breast of this writer, had it not been made subservient to his favourite object, the subversion of moral and religious truth. The picture, which has been already drawn of the historian in this light, is sketched with such justness and good taste by

the masterly pencil of Mrs. H. More, that I cannot do better than present it to the reader's view as it has come from the hand of that admirable woman.

"There is a sedateness in his manner, which imposes; a sly gravity in his scepticism, which puts the reader more off his guard, than the vehemence of censure, or the levity of wit; for we are always less disposed to suspect a man who is too wise to appear angry. That same wisdom makes him too correct to *invent* calumnies, but it does not preserve him from doing what is scarcely less disingenuous. He implicitly adopts the injurious relations of those annalists who were most hostile to the reformed faith*; though

* Villers, in his *Essay on the Reformation*, (Mills's translation, p. 107.) offers the following observations, which go to support the above allegation, and deserve to be particularly attended to. — "It is well known with what fury the rage of party pours out calumny upon eminent men. Upon Luther, above all men, it has been discharged in torrents. Among other causes, it has been found out, that his zeal arose only from the discontent of the Augustins, who beheld, it is said, with envy the Dominicans invested by the Pope with the commission of preaching Indulgences. That Maimbourg should have picked up such a story is nothing wonderful. But it is inconceivable, that Voltaire and Hume should have repeated it as a certain fact." This author then proceeds to expose the falsehood of the calumny, and refers to a note of Dr. Maclaine on Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, in which, he says, is "proved, beyond dispute, the absurdity of the imputation." The translator, pursuing the same subject, goes on thus: — "The credit of Voltaire is now so low in this country, that no means, however base, of forwarding a favourite object will be thought beneath him. He is now detected;

he must have known their accounts to be aggravated and discoloured, if not absolutely in-

---

and his authority is of very little value. But Hume, who through the whole course of his history lies in wait for an opportunity of throwing discredit upon the cause both of religion and of liberty, who possessed a rooted enmity against all the best interests of mankind, and whose actions exhibit more of deliberate misanthropy than those of any other man perhaps that ever lived, still enjoys a reputation and authority which he by no means deserves; and his writings contribute strongly to corrupt the public sentiments. Dr. Maclaine's note, referred to by Villers, is a full exposure, more full perhaps than was necessary, of one of those instances of bad faith with which his history abounds. If any one were to publish an edition of his history, with notes, pointing out the eagerness with which he has used not only lawful but poisoned arms against religion and liberty, exposing the unfounded assertions, the weak reflections, and the barbarous phraseology which he so often employs, he would abate that false admiration so long attached to his works, and confer a great obligation upon the public." These charges against Hume may possibly not be sufficiently temperate and measured: but they contain in them much of truth; and the principle charge, that of historical bad faith, is undoubtedly made out by Dr. Maclaine, in the note alluded to; which note I here subjoin, not merely because it establishes the point at present under consideration, but because it so completely rescues the author of the Reformation from the unfounded calumnies which Hume had contributed to circulate, and which of late days an interested zeal has propagated in this country with more than usual industry.

"Mr. Hume, in his history of the reign of Henry the VIIIth, has thought proper to repeat what the enemies of the Reformation, and some of its dubious or ill-informed friends, have advanced, with respect to the motives that engaged Luther to oppose the doctrine of Indulgences. This elegant and persuasive historian tells us, that the *Austin friars had* USUALLY *been employed in* SAXONY *to preach Indulgences, and from this*

vented. He thus makes others responsible for the worst things he asserts, and spreads the

---

trust had derived both profit and consideration; that ARCEMBOLDI *gave this occupation to the Dominicans; that* MARTIN LUTHER, *an Austin friar, professor in the University of Wirtemberg, resenting the affront put upon his own Order, began to preach against the abuses that were committed in the sale of Indulgences, and, being provoked by opposition, proceeded even to decry Indulgences themselves.* It were to be wished, that Mr. Hume's candour had engaged him to examine this accusation better, before he had ventured to repeat it. For, in the *first* place, it is *not true,* that the *Austin friars had been* USUALLY *employed in Saxony to preach Indulgences.* It is well known, that the commission had been offered alternately, and sometimes jointly, to all the Mendicants, whether *Austin friars, Dominicans, Franciscans,* or *Carmelites.* Nay, from the year 1229, that lucrative commission was principally intrusted with the *Dominicans;* and in the records which relate to Indulgences, we rarely meet with the name of an *Austin friar,* and not one single act by which it appears that the Roman Pontiff ever named the friars of that order to the office under consideration. More particularly it is remarkable, that, for half a century before *Luther* (i. e. from 1450 to 1517), during which period Indulgences were sold with the most scandalous marks of avaricious extortion and impudence, we scarcely meet with the name of an *Austin friar* employed in that service, if we except a monk, named *Palzius,* who was no more than an underling of the papal questor *Raymond Peraldus:* so far is it from being true, that the *Augustine Order* were exclusively, or even *usually* employed in that service. Mr. Hume has built his assertion upon the sole authority of a single expression of *Paul Sarpi,* which has been abundantly refuted by *De Priero, Pallavicini,* and *Graveson,* the mortal enemies of *Luther.*

"But it may be alleged, that, even supposing it was not *usual* to employ the *Augustin friars* alone in the propagation of Indulgences, yet *Luther* might be offended at seeing such an important commission given to the *Dominicans* exclusively,

mischief without avowing the malignity. When he speaks from himself, the sneer is so cool, the

---

and that, consequently, this was his motive in opposing the propagation of Indulgences. To show the injustice of this allegation, I observe, *secondly*, that, in the time of Luther, the preaching of Indulgences was become such an odious and unpopular matter, that it is far from being probable, that *Luther* would have been solicitous about obtaining such a commission either for himself or for his order. The princes of Europe, with many bishops and multitudes of learned and pious men, had opened their eyes upon the turpitude of this infamous traffic: and even the *Franciscans* and *Dominicans*, towards the conclusion of the 15th century, opposed it publicly, both in their discourses and in their writings. Nay, more, the very commission, which is supposed to have excited the envy of *Luther*, was offered by *Leo* to the General of the *Franciscans*, and was refused both by him and his order, who gave it over entirely to *Albert*, bishop of Mentz and Magdeburg. Is it then to be imagined, that either *Luther*, or the other *Austin friars*, aspired after a commission, of which the *Franciscans* were ashamed? Besides, it is a mistake to affirm, that this office was given to the *Dominicans* in general; since it was given to *Tetzel* alone, an individual member of that order, who had been notorious for his profligacy, barbarity, and extortion.

"But, that neither resentment nor envy were the motives that led *Luther* to oppose the doctrine and publication of Indulgences, will appear with the utmost evidence, if we consider, in the *third* place,—That he was never accused of any such motives either in the edicts of the pontiffs of his time, or amidst the other reproaches of the contemporary writers, who defended the cause of Rome, and who were far from being sparing of their invectives and calumnies. All the contemporary adversaries of *Luther* are absolutely silent on this head. From the year 1517 to 1546, when the dispute about Indulgences was carried on with the greatest warmth and animosity, not one writer ever ventured to reproach *Luther* with these ignoble motives of opposition now under consideration.

irony so sober, the contempt so discreet, the moderation so insidious, the difference between

---

I speak not of *Erasmus, Sleiden, De Thou, Guicciardini,* and others, whose testimony might perhaps be suspected of partiality in his favour: but I speak of *Cajetan, Hogstrat, De Prierio, Emser,* and even the infamous *John Tetzel,* whom *Luther* opposed with such vehemence and bitterness. Even *Cochlæus* was silent on this head during the life of *Luther;* though after the death of that great Reformer he broached the calumny I am here refuting. But such was the scandalous character of this man, who was notorious for fraud, calumny, lying, and their sister vices, that *Pallavicini, Bossuet,* and other enemies of *Luther,* were ashamed to make use either of his name or testimony. Now, may it not be fairly presumed, that the contemporaries of *Luther* were better judges of his character and the principles from which he acted, than those who lived in after-times? Can it be imagined, that motives to action, which escaped the prying eyes of *Luther*'s contemporaries, should have discovered themselves to us who live at such a distance of time from the scene of action, to *M. Bossuet,* to *Mr. Hume,* and to other abettors of this ill-contrived and foolish story? Either there are no rules of moral evidence, or *Mr. Hume*'s assertion is entirely groundless." — *Mosheim's Eccles. Hist.* cent. xvi. sect. i. chap. 2. vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.

Dr. Maclaine has very properly observed, that the cause of the Reformation (which must stand by its own intrinsic dignity, and is, in no way, affected by the views or characters of its instruments,) can derive no strength from this inquiry, but as it may tend to vindicate the personal character of a man, who has done eminent service to the cause of religion. In truth, so far from looking for selfish and ignoble motives to account for Luther's zealous opposition to the publication of Indulgences by Tetzel, one has only to read the account given by Mosheim of this transaction, to have his astonishment excited, that Luthers did not start up in thousands to raise their voices against it. — "This bold and enterprising monk," he says, speaking of *Tetzel,* "had been chosen, on account of his uncommon impudence, to preach and proclaim in Ger-

Popish bigotry and Protestant firmness, between the fury of the persecutor and the resolution of the martyr, so little marked; the distinctions between intolerant frenzy and heroic zeal so melted into each other, that though he contrives to make the reader feel some indignation at the tyrant, he never leads him to feel any reverence for the sufferer. He ascribes such a slender superiority to one religious system above another, that the young reader, who does not come to the perusal with his principles formed, will be in danger of thinking that the reformation was really not worth contending for. But, in nothing is the skill of this accomplished sophist more apparent, than in the artful way in which he piques his readers into a conformity with his own views concerning religion. Human pride, he

---

many of those famous Indulgences of *Leo X.* which administered *remission of all sins, past, present, and to come, however enormous their nature,* to those who were rich enough to purchase them. The frontless monk executed this iniquitous commission, not only with matchless insolence, indecency, and fraud, but even carried his impiety so far, as to derogate from the all-sufficient power and influence of the merits of Christ." The translator adds, in exemplification, that, " in describing the efficacy of these Indulgences, *Tetzel* said, among other enormities, *that even had any one ravished the mother of God, he* (Tetzel) *had wherewithal to efface his guilt.* He also boasted, that he *had saved more souls from hell by these Indulgences, than St. Peter had converted to Christianity by his preaching.*" — Yet Hume could discover no cause for Luther's resistance of such Indulgences, but that he had lost the sale of them himself.

knew, naturally likes to range itself on the side of ability. He therefore skilfully works on this passion, by treating with a sort of contemptuous superiority, as weak and credulous men, all whom he represents as being under the religious delusion. To the shameful practice of confounding fanaticism with real religion, he adds the disingenuous habit of accounting for the best actions of the best men, by referring them to some low motive; and affects to confound the designs of the religious and the corrupt, so artfully, as if no radical difference existed between them." (*Mrs. H. More's Hints for a Young Princess*, vol. i. p. 156—158.) Thus does this elegant writer describe the pernicious tendencies of Hume's History, which, as possessing at the same time many of the beauties of style, she happily characterises in a word, as "a serpent under a bed of roses." (p. 155.)—And thus we see, that in no occupation of Mr. Hume, whether exercising himself as the light Essayist, the deep Philosopher, or the grave Historian, does he ever lose sight of the one great warfare, in which he had enlisted himself against truth, virtue, and religion.

In this Postscript to the foregoing Number, I have wandered far, indeed, from my subject; but by no means from my object: for, if I shall have the good fortune of impressing any one of my youthful readers with a just opinion and abhorrence of such writers as Bolingbroke and

Hume, I conceive I shall have done no small service to the cause of truth, of virtue, and of religion.

NO. LXX.—ON THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE ANNUAL EXPIATION UNDER THE LAW, AND THE ONE GREAT EXPIATION UNDER THE GOSPEL.

PAGE 61. (z)—The sacrifice on the anniversary of expiation seems to be distinguished from all others by a peculiar degree of solemnity, as if to mark its more immediate reference to the great sacrifice of Christ. Thus, on this day, we find the *High Priest* exclusively commanded to officiate: and on this day alone, in the stated exercises of his office, was he *permitted* to enter into the *Holy of Holies*, and to carry the blood of the victim into the *presence* of God, to offer it before that *Glory*, which, seated between the two cherubims, overshadowed the mercy seat, and represented the Divinity: — a circumstance, which the Apostle particularly marks (Hebr. chap. ix.), as prefiguring the entrance of our great High Priest, with the blood offered by him for our redemption, into the true presence of the most High, the immediate habitation of God's holiness and glory. The *High* Priest also seems to have been selected for the solemn services of this day, as more adequately representing the *whole* assembly, in whose name he sacrificed

and supplicated forgiveness; and therefore more properly typifying Him, who, representing the whole human race, was to procure redemption by his blood for the whole assembly of mankind.

Whoever wishes for a more minute detail of the particulars of this solemn sacrifice, and of its peculiar fitness to represent the sacrifice of Christ, may consult *Outram. De Sacr.* lib. 1. cap. xviii. § 6, 7. lib. 11. cap. iii. § 2, 3, 4. He will also receive much satisfaction, from an examination of *Ainsworth*'s comment on the sixteenth chapter of Leviticus. For many valuable remarks, connected with the subject of this Number, *Daubeny's Discourses on the Connexion between the Old and New Test.* may be consulted. And in *Rhenferdius*'s treatise *De Comparatione Expiationis Anniv. Pontificis Max. V. et N. Test.* (*Meuschen's Nov. Test.* &c. p. 1013—1039.) a most copious and circumstantial enumeration is given of the particulars, in which the annual expiation by the Jewish High Priest resembled the one great Expiation of the New Testament. It may be proper to observe, that such is the force of the resemblance, that Socinus himself admits this anniversary sacrifice of atonement,—inasmuch as "it was of special divine ordinance, at a stated season, offered by the High Priest, and appointed to atone for *all* the sins of *all* the people,"—to be fairly accounted typical of the sacrifice of Christ.—

Socin. Oper. (*Prælect. Theol.* cap. xxii.) tom. i. p. 583.

NO. LXXI. — ON THE NATURE AND IMPORT OF THE CEREMONY OF THE SCAPE-GOAT.

PAGE 62. (a) — On this, see what has been said in p. 362, 363. of vol. i., and attend particularly to the 5th, 7th, and 10th verses of the 16th chap. of Leviticus, from which it appears, that the *two goats* are, throughout the chapter, spoken of as *one* sin-offering; being expressly so *called* in the first of these verses; presented *jointly* as the offering of the people in the second; and, though separated into two distinct *parts* by the lot cast in the 9th verse, yet *each* described as contributing to the *atonement* for the people, as appears from the 10th verse compared with the 17th. Indeed, that the *two goats* made but *one* sin-offering on this occasion, the best commentators freely admit. See *Jameson*'s observations on this chap. of Leviticus. The reason of this seems obvious. The death of the animal was requisite to represent the *means* by which the expiation was effected: and the bearing away the sins of the people on the head of the animal was requisite to exhibit the *effect*; namely, the removal of the guilt. But, for these distinct objects, two animals were necessary to complete the sin-offering.

It must be allowed, that an account somewhat different has been given of this matter by some very judicious commentators. The goat sent into the wilderness, and that which was offered up in expiation, jointly, they say, typify the great Redeemer of mankind: the former animal exhibiting that, which could not be displayed by the latter, as having been slain; namely, that Christ was not only to be *delivered for our offences*, but to be *raised again for our justification* (Rom. iv. 25.); and that although he was to be *crucified through weakness*, yet he was to *live by the power of God.* (2 Cor. xiii. 4.) Thus, *Ainsworth*, *Bochart*, *Alting*, and, before them, *Augustine* and *Procopius*, understand it. The opinion of these writers, respecting the truth to be illustrated by the dismissal of the second goat, may perhaps not improperly be combined with that which has been here proposed: so that whilst the goat which was slain exemplifies the Sacrifice offered for the sins of mankind; that which was sent away alive may represent, not only the removal of those sins in consequence of that sacrifice, but also the restoration to life of Him by whom they were so removed. Whether, however, this point be admitted or not, the circumstance of the two goats jointly constituting one offering, by exhibiting the different adjuncts, cannot, I think, with any reason be controverted.

Rhenferd contends, that this point is com-

pletely established by an evidence resulting from the nature of the ceremony itself. For, he says, the imposition of hands, and the confession and implied translation of sins upon the victim, being usual in the sacrifice of animals in expiation; and this ceremony being omitted in the case of the goat that was slain, whilst it was employed in the case of the goat that was sent away; decidedly prove, that both animals were designed to be considered as one offering, and that the latter, consequently, represented Him who was to bear the sins of Israel, and by his sufferings to expiate and to remove them. — See *Jac. Rhenferd exp. anniv.* &c. p. 1033. of *Meuschen, Nov. Test. ex Talm.*

Whoever may have a curiosity to know whether any, and what ceremony, analogous to that of the Scape-goat, is observed by the Jews of modern times, on the *day of Expiation*, may turn to vol. i. pp. 269. 270., where he will find, that a *cock* is now substituted for the legal victims; and that the entrails of the animal to which the sins of the offerers are conceived to have been transferred by imprecation, are exposed upon the top of the house, to be carried away by the birds into their solitary haunts, in like manner as, under the law, the scape-goat had been conceived to carry away the sins of the people into the wilderness. See also *Buxtorf. Synag. Jud.* and *Broughton's Dictionary of Religions*, Article EXPIATION.

NO. LXXII.—SOCINIAN OBJECTIONS URGED BY A DIVINE OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH, AGAINST THE DOCTRINE OF THE VICARIOUS IMPORT OF THE MOSAIC SACRIFICES, AND AGAINST OTHER DOCTRINES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PAGE 63. (b)—The arguments in behalf of the vicarious import of the Mosaic sacrifices, have been so fully examined in Numbers XXXVIII. and XXXIX., that nothing need here be added to what has been already offered upon this head.

It is with great regret that, in reverting to this subject, I feel myself obliged to notice the following observations; which have been recently hazarded by a *Divine of the Established Church*, with a rashness and a flippancy which cannot too strongly be condemned.

" Those who seek a protection for their absurd and unscriptural ideas of a vicarious punishment, under the shelter of the Jewish ritual, do not consider that that ritual was *solely* intended to preserve the Jews from the idolatry and polytheism of the neighbouring nations, by keeping their imagination sensibly interested, their minds perpetually employed, and their time continually occupied with the performance of rites and ceremonies, sacrifices and oblations, which all tended

to keep alive in their minds the unity of the Godhead; and thus to preserve them a distinct people, till the time appointed came for the opening of the Christian dispensation; when the distinction between Jew and Gentile was to be done away. * There are, I know, some

* The same idea this author takes pains frequently to enforce. In his *Religion without Cant* (p. 112.), he states it thus.—"The ceremonial laws of the Mosaic dispensation were intended *merely* to preserve unbroken the barrier between Jew and Gentile, till the coming of him," &c.—— And yet, will it be believed, that in the very same page, this determined enemy of every thing typical in the Mosaic dispensation, affirms, that, in the Mosaical law, the *great scheme of redemption* was obscurely insinuated, rather than distinctly portrayed, in *types and figures*, in the *sacrifices* of the altar, and the *atonements* of the Priest? The *Redeemer*, he adds, was *seen through the rites of the Mosaic dispensation*, as through a veil or a glass, darkly." How then does this "wise and sober" writer differ from those, "whose fancy prevailing over their judgment" has led them to view the Mosaic dispensation as containing in it something typical of the Christian? He admits, that the *sacrifices* and *atonements* under the one, did obscurely typify the *great scheme of Redemption* in the other. And who contends that the type was any other than a faint and obscure draught of the reality? Thus, then, he saves his reader the trouble of confuting the assertion, that the Jewish ritual was *solely* intended to form a barrier between Jew and Gentile, and that none but a visionary could ever have dreamt of its bearing a typical relation to the Christian scheme.

This is not the only case, in which the freedom and variety of this author's views have led him to mutually confronting positions on the same subject.—To select one instance more out of a rich abundance.—In p. 179. of the last-named work, he tells the Christian, that "it is only by personal acts of sin, *hardening into habits* of sin, that he becomes

people *whose fancy is stronger than their judgment*, who *suppose* that the varied sacrifices and ordinances of the Mosaic ritual, and indeed all the fractional parts of the Mosaic dispensation, were intended only as types and figures of particular facts and doctrines in the history and institution of the Messiah. — *Those, whose minds are not fitted for larger and grander views of the ways of God, may well employ their time in these puerile conceits; but they will be despised by wise and sober men, who do not like to assimilate the operations of the Deity to the*

---

a transgressor, subject to the wrath of God;" and, agreeably to this, he asserts again, in p. 210., that "it is not by some occasional misdoings that we are to pass sentence on any man;" — that, "in estimating the worth of the human character, we are not to form our calculations on the conduct of one single day, but to take the average of many days and years, and see what *proportion* a man's *violation* of his duty bears to its *performance*, his *virtues* to his *vices*, his *sins* to his *righteousness*." — And yet this indulgent moralist, who had thus far endeavoured to relieve us from any inconvenient pressure of sin upon our consciences, by enabling us to reduce the balance against us in the debtor and creditor account of transgression and righteousness, shortly after turns upon us, all at once, with this unpleasant sentence: "*The moment* we have violated *any one* duty of truth, justice, and humanity, or any one saying of the perfect law of Christ, *that moment we are polluted with guilt*, and, without repentance, obnoxious to punishment." See p. 220. — Really, it were by no means unadvisable, that a writer (not excepting even a teacher of theology) should take some little pains to know what his own opinions were, before he proposed them for the instruction of the public.

trick and pantomime of a conjuror."—The Guide to Immortality, by Robert Fellowes, vol. iii. pp. *55, 56.*

Such are the modest insinuations of a divine, whose mind *is* of course "fitted for large and grand views of the ways of God;" whose comprehensive ken enables him, although unaided by any lights from Scripture, to discern what was the *sole* design of the Jewish ritual; who is possessed of "a judgment," that at once detects the silly fancies of all such as "suppose" that that ritual could bear any relation to the Messiah; and who is also "wise and sober" enough, to "despise" all those, who, by forming such a supposition, "assimilate the operations of the Deity to the trick and pantomime of a conjuror."

Now, who are the persons, who, by forming such strange suppositions, and by indulging in such "puerile conceits," have rendered themselves the objects of this gentleman's contempt? Not to speak of the person alluded to in the last note, (who probably stands too well with the author, to be exposed to any portion of that scorn which is to be shared among those who entertain such notions,) one of the first and most distinguished in this way is the Apostle Paul. *He* has gone the unreasonable length of endeavouring to prove, in a most minute and laboured detail, that the institutions of the Law

were but shadows of things to come. But then, of St. Paul, and his various "puerile conceits," this writer makes no account. The Apostle, he informs us, "labours with mysterious meanings, *which he fails in developing with sufficient perspicuity.*"—"He was of the sect of the Pharisees, who were wont to allegorize on the literal sense of Scripture. His writings have a tincture of *cabalistical* refinement,—and even occasionally *glimmer with a ray of Grecian philosophy.*" "The Epistle to the Romans is *bewildered* with the polemical Christianity of that day."—His Epistles, generally, are "filled with the abstruse discussions of *Rabbinical* learning; or relate to questions which are at present of *more curiosity than importance.*"—"A modern believer has" (consequently) "very little concern with any of the Epistles of this Apostle;" or indeed, it must be added, with any of the Epistles, all of which this writer finds to be "involved in a tenfold obscurity;" and to which he pronounces it impossible that we could ever pay the smallest attention, but that "we prefer stumbling in darkness; that we delight more in error than in truth; or that we imagine there is no piety where there is no mystery."—*Picture of Christian Philosophy*, Pref. pp. iv.—vi. pp. 131, 132.—See also *Guide to Immort.* vol. iii. pp. 230, 231., where the same point is again earnestly enforced. In another work (*Relig. without Cant*, pp. 13, 14.) the same

author takes care to acquaint his reader more particularly with those *pharisaical dogmas* and *heathenish notions*, which St. Paul had so deeply imbibed; and he illustrates the power of ancient *prejudices* over the mind of the Apostle, by a happy and elegant allusion to the *tang of the tainted cask;* which, as he has presented it in a Latin phrase, likely to excite attention from its *novelty*, will, he thinks, give to "the sagacious" a sufficient idea of his meaning.

Of his meaning, in truth, no person can entertain a doubt. His language is plain and intelligible enough. It is neither more nor less than this; that St. Paul, and, indeed, the Authors of all the Apostolical Epistles, have shown themselves to be mere drivellers: that we should consequently reject all their fancies; discard the hitherto received *doctrines* of Christianity, as idle dreams; and regard the Gospel *merely* and *exclusively* as a *moral system*, or, as he chooses sometimes to term it, as a *rule of life*. This is the point which this writer mainly labours to establish throughout his various theological*

* *The Anticalvinist, A Picture of Christian Philosophy, Religion without Cant*, and *The Guide to Immortality*, are the works with which this author has favoured the public on theological subjects. [Another theological work has, I understand, issued from the same pen, since the time at which this note was written: but what the nature of its contents may be, I confess I have not been anxious to discover.] — In these several volumes, all largely descanting upon the morality, to

publications. And, for the purpose of effecting this, he strenuously contends that the Christian religion contains in it *no* doctrine that is *myste-*

---

the disparagement, or rather to the exclusion, of the doctrines of the Gospel, the Christian excellence which forms the favourite theme, is *benevolence.* It were well if he had treated those from whose opinions he thinks proper to dissent with that mildness, and brotherly forbearance, which might prove him to have written under the influence of the virtue which he so highly praises. His language, on the contrary, is every where that of the bitterest rancour, and the most arrogant contempt, against all who embrace the doctrines which he rejects, and which, in subscribing the articles of the Church to which he belongs, he bound himself by a solemn promise to maintain. Nay, he even dooms to the place of future torments, in common with the most profligate and abandoned of sinners, all who have taught the "false and pernicious doctrines of innate depravity, imputed righteousness, and such other dogmas as are contrary to goodness."— *Guide to Immort.* vol. i. p. 316. Yet with all this gall perpetually discharging itself, charity and the kindly affections are the never-ending topics of declamation; a declamation even sometimes swelling into pindaric.

Love, indeed, of one kind or other, is with this writer so favourite a theme, that a late work, in which he has indulged in the effusions of poetry, is exclusively devoted to the subject. It must be confessed, however, that the love there treated of is as far removed from *Christian* love, as any that a *Christian minister* could feel himself justified in recommending.— *Poems chiefly descriptive of the softer and more delicate sensations and emotions of the heart!* Surely, surely, there is mischievous stuff enough of this kind abroad, without calling in the clergy to contribute *their* stock of silly *love-songs*, to the increase of the nuisance.— And yet, perhaps, the love-songs of this clergyman are not more mischievous than his theology. They certainly are not more poetic.

rious ;* that it pronounces a good *moral* life to

---

* "In the following work, it will perhaps be objected that I have introduced no mysteries: but whatever is mysterious is unnecessary. The essentials of a religion consist in few, and those the plainest truths."—"*False* religions may extol the importance of *mysteries:* but there is no mystery in the true."—*Guide to Immortality*, vol. i. pref. p. xiv.—Similar language is scattered plentifully amongst the pages of this work. Being thus prepared to render all perfectly smooth throughout the Gospels, and the Epistles being altogether discarded, our author proceeds with his pruning-knife in his hand, and freely and unsparingly lops or bends every thing to his own wish, and, as he conceives, to the great edification of his reader. And yet, strange to say, notwithstanding his *plain reasoning*, which, "all men in the possession of reason may understand," he has left behind him mysteries not less than those which he boasts to have removed; if that which cannot be comprehended be allowed to be mysterious. Amongst many such, his observations upon the Incarnation and the Atonement supply notable specimens. The very opening of his work, indeed, cannot fail to satisfy all who examine it, of his qualifications as a commentator, who is to remove from the sacred writings all the obscurities of mystery. Confessing that he cannot discover what meaning should be assigned to the word Λόγος, he "gives no translation to this *mysterious* term, but retains in the text the original word *Logos*, to which he leaves every reader at liberty to annex whatever interpretation he may think best." (Vol. i. p. 3.)—This is certainly a new mode of removing a difficulty: and Mr. F. is evidently not quite satisfied with it himself. He, therefore, in the succeeding notes, calls in the aid of Dr. Lardner, and labours, with the help of this Socinian ally, to explain the nature of that, the term to express which he does not venture to translate. And now the matter comes out, that this *Logos*, let the word mean what it may, must actually be *God himself.* For if it be the *reason*, the *wisdom*, or the

be the *only* requisite condition* of salvation; that in the Gospels alone are to be found com-

---

power of God, then what but *God himself* can it be? — Thus the first point gained in making the matter plain, is, that the *attribute* of any Being *is* that *Being.* — Well, then, this *Logos* is actually *God himself.* How goes on the *plain reasoning* now? — *In the beginning was God; and* GOD WAS WITH GOD; *and* GOD WAS GOD. — So far there is no mystery undoubtedly; nor yet in the succeeding assurance, that *God was in the beginning with God.* And for such communications, it must be conceded to Mr. F. and his Socinian auxiliaries, that the Evangelists could have but little need of inspiration. But as we advance a little farther, we find that this *Logos* (that is, *God,*) is called *The Light;* and that this *Light,* which in one verse is *God,* becomes, in the next, the *Messiah,* "the visible image of the wisdom of God;" and that immediately after it becomes *God* again. — (See the notes, p. 3—7. vol. i. of *Guide,* &c.) — So much for the freedom from mystery, and clearness of exposition, in which this author exults; and for the want of which he every where indulges in the most indignant invectives against such as give support to the creeds and articles of the Established Church; all of whom, indiscriminately, he never fails to abuse as ignorant and intolerant, in a manner that evidently marks where these terms may justly be applied.

A glance at the exposition of the introductory verses of St. John's Gospel, as given in pp. 79, 80. of the first vol. of this work, will satisfy the reader, with what associates this *Church of England* divine is to be ranked in his comments upon Scripture.

* *Guide to Immor.* vol. i. p. 327. — This is also the familiar language of Mr. F. throughout. The clergy, he says, (Vol. i. p. 323.) "ought solely and exclusively to be the *moral teachers* of the people." (He means to say, that the clergy "ought to be solely and exclusively *moral* teachers of the people.") Indeed he carries this point so far, that he would have "the ministers of the Establishment COMPELLED to teach *nothing*

prised every useful truth and every religious duty; and that consequently in his own work, which professes to give a just view of whatever the Gospels teach, the Christian reader will meet "a faithful and a cheering *Guide to Immortality.*" The author goes yet farther: he holds, that our Saviour's Sermon on the Mount "contains a summary of *every thing* which it is necessary to believe or to practise." (*Anticalvinist*, pp. 13. 25.) So that even his own three volumes, explanatory of the true meaning of the four Evangelists, are in a great degree superfluous; inasmuch as the substance of a few chapters which have been given by one of them, comprehends all that is actually requisite. This is undoubtedly making brief work with the writings of the New Testament: and, in this view of the case, he might with as much propriety have entitled his book, a *short cut*, as a *cheering guide, to immortality.*

---

but that pure morality which Christ taught, without any *cant* or *mystery.*" — *Religion without Cant*, p. 131. — It has been remarked of the work so entitled, — which deals, *usque ad nauseam*, in the cant or common-place usual with a certain class of writers on the subjects of *liberality, benevolence, morality*, &c. blended, at the same time (in the indulgence it is to be presumed of benevolent and moral feelings), with no small portion of the cant of *invective* against all the supporters of the Established religion, — that instead of being denominated *Religion without Cant*, it might by a slight transposition have acquired a much more appropriate description, *Cant without Religion.*

But that we may appreciate the more justly the value of this writer's theological opinions, it is necessary to observe, that, whilst he every where* insists on the propriety of confining the entire range of Christian instruction within the limits of our Lord's discourses, as recorded by the Evangelists, he at the same time very candidly informs us, that some of the grandest and most important truths of Christianity were not made known to the Apostles until after their Master's death. "The great *mystery* of a *suffering* Messiah," he says, (and with what consistency he talks of *such* a mystery, or of *any* mystery whatever, let the reader judge,) "could not prudentially be explained, and was not openly and unreservedly taught, till after his resurrection." (*Guide*, &c. vol. i. p. 344.) In the sentence preceding this, he takes care to state distinctly, that, during the life of our Lord, this

* Besides what has been already quoted upon this subject, in p. 315., we find the following remarks in this writer's *Guide to Imm.* vol. iii. p. 231. — "Those, who prefer religious speculation to the practice of religion, or who wish to keep alive the memory and to rekindle the heat of controversies, whose lustre and whose interest have long since been lost in the night of ages, may dedicate the best portion of their days to the *fruitless study of that imperviously dark and inextricably bewildering polemical matter*, which is still preserved in the Apostolical Epistles."— "But the precepts of Christ, as they are contained in his various parables and discourses in the four Evangelists, contain *all* the instructions which are necessary to our improvement in righteousness; — include, in short, every essential principle of genuine Christianity."

knowledge was withheld even from his immediate followers. Neither could it have been communicated to them, in the interval between the resurrection and ascension, consistently with the representation of the case which this author gives: for he particularly acquaints us (which he admits to be more than the Evangelists themselves have done) with the subjects of our Lord's discourse during that interval. "It was principally occupied with instructions relative to their (the Apostles') ministry," &c. But "*all things necessary for the belief or the practice of men*, and which are essential to salvation, our Lord had *repeatedly* inculcated on his disciples *before his death.*" And, accordingly, "the Apostles delivered nothing necessary to salvation, which Christ had not previously enjoined in his discourses to his disciples; and of which we have a copious summary in the writings of the Evangelists." (*Guide*, &c. vol. iii. pp. 229, 230.)—What now follows from all this?—That "*the great mystery of a suffering Messiah*" is of no importance in the Christian scheme. For nothing is important that is not contained in our Lord's discourses delivered before his death, and as they are given to us by the Evangelists: and in these discourses, we are told, the subject of a suffering Messiah is carefully suppressed.

But we have not yet done with the *variety* of the author's views upon this head. He has again and again assured us, that our Lord had, in several

discourses before his death, communicated to his disciples every important truth: and yet he freely confesses, in other places, that there were several important truths which were not so communicated, but which our Lord had promised to convey to his disciples by the Spirit of truth, whom he would send to them after his death. (*Guide*, vol. iii. p. 64.)—It is true, indeed, that as to this *Holy Spirit*, or *Paraclete*, Mr. F. questions*, (p. 63.) whether it may not simply signify Christ's RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION!" This, however, he proposes only to the "*dispassionate and deep-thinking*."—But what again shall we say of the Evangelical narration, as Mr. F. describes the

* "It is a question, which may be proposed to calm and dispassionate and deep-thinking men, whether our Lord, under the idea of a Paraclete or Counsellor, spoke of his resurrection and ascension; events which so greatly contributed to dispel the prejudices, to enlighten the minds, and to elevate the hearts of his disciples; and, in short, to lead them into all truth."—So much for *plain, unrefined, natural* exposition. Now, if, in speaking of the Comforter that was to be sent, our Lord meant his resurrection and ascension, it is evident that we may substitute these words for that which they imply, wherever it is spoken of. And then, our Lord's address to his disciples would run thus: "If I go not away, *my resurrection and ascension* will not come to you; but if I go, I will send him (i. e. *my resurrection and ascension*) unto you. And when he is come," &c. "However, when he cometh, even the Spirit of truth, (or, in other words, *my resurrection and ascension*,) he will guide you into all truth: for he (that is, *my resurrection and ascension*) will not speak of himself," &c.—I certainly must leave this to "the dispassionate and deep-thinking," for I find it quite beyond the reach of *my* comprehension.

matter in another place? (p. 68.) "*After my resurrection*, I will declare to you *the will and counsels of the Father without any indistinctness or obscurity.*" And yet to this he immediately subjoins: "The sacred historians have only *very briefly* recited the discourses of Jesus with his disciples *after his resurrection.*"—Thus, then, "*the will and counsels of the Father*," the *expounding in all the Scriptures* (*beginning from Moses and all the prophets*) *the things concerning himself*,—which were vouchsafed by Christ to his disciples after his resurrection, and which the Evangelists have (not "*briefly*," but) not at all "recited," are to be sought for precisely where it is confessed that they are not: and the Gospels are alone to be referred to, for clear and distinct views of doctrines, which the Gospels do not contain: whilst that part of Scripture is to be rejected as unnecessary, and even injurious, which was specially allotted to the purpose of communicating to mankind that knowledge of the truth, which the Spirit of truth, as well as the words of our Lord, conveyed to the Apostles, subsequently to his resurrection.

Thus we find this writer, who is to clear away all mystery and difficulty from Scripture truth, perpetually at variance with himself, no less than with the real doctrines of Christianity. Surely, he should have endeavoured to form at least a *consistent* set of opinions, before he attempted to obtrude them on the public; and, more particu-

larly, before he ventured to fly in the face of the whole Christian world, by an open rejection of one of the most important portions of inspired Scripture. Humility, however, is not one of the *weaknesses* of this writer: and certainly knowledge is not his *forte*.—Any reply to the arguments advanced by Mr. Fellowes, for the rejection of the Epistles in the investigation of the Christian doctrines, is rendered unnecessary by the arguments themselves. Independently of their extravagance, (I had almost said, their folly,) they carry in them, as we have seen, their own refutation. In truth, the object of our Saviour's life was to supply the subject, not to promulgate the doctrines, of the Gospel. The Evangelists, therefore, confine themselves to the simple duty of narration: and the doctrines, which altogether depended upon what our Lord had done and suffered, particularly upon his death, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, were, after this groundwork was fairly laid, to be fully set forth by those, to whom our blessed Saviour had solemnly promised the unerring aid of the Holy Spirit, and who were especially designated by him for that very purpose. See p. 459—462. of vol. i. for farther observations upon the attempt made by Dr. Priestley and his Socinian phalanx, similar to this of Mr. F.'s, to beat down the authority of the Epistles. By rejecting the Epistles, or, which is the same thing, the doctrines which they con-

tain, Mr. F. indeed thinks that he may* reconcile "Jews, Turks, and Infidels of whatever denomination," to Christianity. (*Guide*, &c. vol. i. pref. p. xv.)—No; that he will not effect: but he will accomplish this,—he will render Christianity very little different from what Jews, Turks, and Infidels, have already embraced.

* Upon this prudential plan of clearing away mysteries from Christianity, in order to bring infidels of all descriptions within its pale, I cannot avoid noticing the observations of a writer, whose opinions deserve at least as much respect as those of Mr. *Fellowes*.—"As to the mysterious articles of our faith, which Infidels would by no means have us forget; "Who," say they, "can swallow them?" In truth, none but those who think it no dishonour to their understandings to credit their Creator. Socinus, like our Infidels, was one of a narrow throat; and out of a generous compassion to the Scriptures, (which the world, it seems, had misunderstood for 1500 years,) was for weeding them of their mysteries; and rendering them, in the plenitude of his infallible reason, undisgusting and palatable to all the *rational* part of mankind. *Why should honest Jews and Turks be frighted from us by the Trinity, &c.?* He was for making religion familiar and inoffensive. And so he did; and *unchristian* too."—The same admirable writer subjoins. "Those things which our hands can grasp, our understandings cannot comprehend. Why then deny to the Deity himself, the privilege of being *one amidst that multitude of mysteries*, which he has made?"—Such are the striking and just reflections of the celebrated Dr. *Young*, on this important subject, in his *Centaur not Fabulous* (p. 14.); a work which, in this age of frivolity, voluptuousness, and irreligion, I would particularly recommend to the attention of my young reader, promising him in the perusal, not less entertainment from the liveliness of its illustrations and the brilliancy of its wit, than improvement from the soundness of its reasonings and the animation of its piety.

Thus then, upon the whole, it is manifest, that we have the very essence of Socinianism presented to us by a writer, in the garb of a Minister of the Established Church: a writer, too, who expatiates in every page on the moral virtues; on the virtues of truth, honesty, and fidelity; whilst he openly boasts of the good policy of continuing in the bosom of that Communion which he labours to subvert; and exultingly avows his breach of those solemn engagements, by virtue of which he obtained admission within its pale. Such plain and unenlightened Christians, as have not acquired a relish for the refinements, which enable an ingenious casuist to violate his promise and to betray his trust, will be apt to suspect that, in this author's hands, Christianity has not only been abridged of its mysteries, but also curtailed somewhat in its morality. For what do those articles contain, to which every clergyman of the Established Church has declared his *entire and unfeigned assent*, but the very doctrines which this gentleman ridicules and rejects? Surely, the doctrines of the *Trinity*, the *Incarnation*, the *Redemption*, and the various other momentous Christian truths, which they pronounce to be indispensable to the formation of a genuine Christian faith, are not to be found comprised in the Sermon on the Mount, which this author maintains to be a "summary of *every thing, which it is necessary to believe or to practise.*"

It is, indeed, scarcely conceivable, how a person in the possession of a sane understanding can reconcile to himself subscription to the articles of any Church, and rejection of the doctrines which those articles define. To say, as this author does, that the *sixth* article, in pronouncing that nothing is to be received as an article of faith which is not founded in Holy Writ, supplies a dispensation from the obligation of the rest, is to make as short work with the articles of the Church, as he has already made with the canon of Scripture. Would it not, under these circumstances, have saved much unnecessary trouble, to reduce the articles of the Church to the single declaration of the sixth? Or, indeed, were we to seek the simplicity, which this author so strongly recommends, the sixth article itself must be yet farther reduced, to correspond to the just dimensions of Gospel truth; and the whole that our Church should pronounce to be requisite, for the true belief of a Christian teacher, should at once be confined to the range of Christ's Sermon on the Mount. But, to a person not desirous of escaping from the obligations of a solemn engagement, it would naturally occur, that the Church, in propounding certain articles of belief, could never have acted so absurdly, as to superadd to these one paramount article, which was to do away the obligation of all the rest. On the contrary, he would necessarily reason thus: that, whilst certain doctrines are proposed

as articles of faith, and it is at the same time declared that none are to be received as such, which are not founded on the authority of Scripture; it is clearly intended to be conveyed, that the articles proposed *are* founded upon that authority, and to be received as articles of faith by those *only* who conceive them to be so founded.

The language which Mr. Fellowes's reasoning would put into the mouths of the framers of the articles, is rather whimsical. "*For the purpose of avoiding diversities of opinion, and the establishing of consent touching true religion* *, we require from the clergy of the Established Church of England an *unfeigned assent* to the several doctrines which we propose; and for the better effecting the aforesaid purpose, we also require of them, each for himself, according to his private interpretation of Scripture, to modify or to reject these doctrines at pleasure, and to introduce such diversities of opinion, as they may respectively think fit." — This is Mr. Fellowes's view of the matter. I would suggest to him a view of it somewhat different, in the words of one of the most distinguished ornaments of the English Church at the present day.—"*I do willingly and ex animo subscribe to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England*, is the indispensable form

* The *Title* of our Articles, in describing the object for which they are framed, uses the very words which are here printed in Italics.

of subscription; and therefore it behoves every one, before he offers himself a candidate for holy orders, to peruse carefully the Articles of our Church, and *to compare them with the written word of God.* If, upon mature examination, he believes them to be authorized by Scripture, he may conscientiously subscribe them: but if, on the contrary, he thinks that he sees reason to dissent from any of the doctrines asserted in them, no hope of emolument or honour, no dread of inconvenience or disappointment, should induce him to express his solemn assent to propositions, which, in fact, he does not believe." *—(*Bishop Tomline's Elements*, &c. vol. ii. p. 567.) —According to Mr. *Fellowes*'s reasoning, on the other hand, a Christian minister *may* express his solemn assent to propositions, which, in fact, he does not believe. And this is the writer who resolves the whole of Christianity into *morality.*

Juravi linguâ, mentem injuratam gero, is a sentiment which has seldom been so openly avowed, as by this gentleman. The dishonest subterfuge of *mental reservation* has been often charged upon that Church, against whose corruptions it has been the glory of ours to *protest.* It might†

* Dr. *Balguy*, in speaking of the duties of the clergy, touching the articles, affirms, that "every word that comes from our mouths in opposition to the established faith, is a *violation of the most solemn engagements*, and an act of disobedience to lawful authority."

† It *has*, in truth, been retorted, in a late publication, by a Roman Catholic writer, and directed even against those of

now with justice be retorted upon our own, if indeed it could (as I confidently trust it cannot) reasonably be supposed, that opinions on the subject of subscription, similar to those entertained by Mr. F., prevail in any degree amongst the clergy of the Establishment.

But, after all, we do not find this gentleman completely satisfied with his own views of the subject. In the wish, which he expresses*, that Parliament should give relief from all subscriptions to doctrine, it is manifest, that he is not altogether contented with the *dispensation*, which

---

our clergy, who conceive themselves to be bound by their subscription to consider the articles merely as articles of *peace*. Even of these this author pronounces, that they must be allowed to have acted under impressions "contrary to every principle of Christian sincerity, and favourable to perjury." What then would the same writer have said of a minister of the Established Church, who, so far from viewing those Articles, to which he had solemnly declared his *unfeigned assent*, as Articles of *peace*, openly arraigns them as grossly *antiscriptural*, and professes it to be his determination to oppose and to overturn them by every means in his power?—The passage to which I have referred, is to be found at p. lvi. of the *Introduction* to a work, entitled *The Protestant Apology for the Roman Catholic Church*.—The author of the *Introduction* (who styles himself *Irenæus*) possesses ability and information, worthy of a better cause than that which he has undertaken to support; and many things have fallen from his pen, in that treatise, which well deserve the consideration of Protestant divines.—I mention this the more willingly, because it has not been my lot to meet with publications by any late writer of the Romish Church, alike deserving of notice.

* *Guide to Imm.* vol. i. pp. xviii. xix.

he conceives the 6th article to supply. Whether Parliament, however, grant such relief or not, his free spirit is not to be restrained.—"When the Church of England got rid of *one* Pope, it never intended to raise up *thirty-nine* in its place." * (p. xxi.) And if the church presume to do so, he is at all events released from such iniquitous exercise of authority, by a duty of higher obligation,—the duty which he owes to the great spiritual King. (p. xxi.—xxiii.) But it may be asked, whether this duty authorizes him to betray his trust, by voluntarily continuing a member of a particular communion, which he labours, in violation of the most solemn engagements, to overturn; labours to overturn, by the very means which his connexion with that communion supplies; and the enjoyment of which means, he pretty plainly intimates to be the principal cause for which he maintains that connexion. (pp. xix. xx.)

It is, however, but fair to state, that, in this deliberate endeavour to overturn the doctrines

* It is curious to observe this advocate for Christian freedom, who spurns with such indignation these Popes which are imposed by the authority of the Church, devising at the same time a Pope of his own, to which he would have the whole body of the clergy *compelled* to bend the knee. For, as we have already seen, (note * pp. 320, 321.) his favourite plan is, that the ministers of the Establishment should be COMPELLED to teach nothing but pure morality. Thus, like most of the other mighty advocates for freedom, the liberty which he wishes for, is merely the liberty to deprive others of theirs.

which the articles enforce, this author considers himself by no means chargeable with a violation of his engagements. The argument indeed is somewhat new. It amounts to this: that he who attends to the direct, natural, and obvious meaning of the articles, is least likely to arrive at their right construction: and that, as to the letter, they are in truth more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Whoever doubts this to be a fair representation, may turn to the pages last referred to; and also to p. 33—42. of *Relig. without Cant*, where we find the author more fully unfolding the entire mystery of his reasoning upon this subject; — for *mystery* and *paradox* this author does not dislike, where they are of his own creation. It is there laid down, authoritatively, that the true meaning of the articles is not to be collected from the articles themselves, but from the sense of the clergy at large; who, it is affirmed, "may put *any* construction * upon them which they think best:"

* Dr. *Paley*, a writer certainly not of the same stamp with Mr. Fellowes, gives a very different account of this matter. "Subscription to Articles of Religion, though no more than a *declaration* of the subscriber's assent, may properly enough be considered in connexion with the subject of OATHS, because it is governed by the same rule of interpretation; which rule is the ANIMUS IMPONENTIS. The inquiry, therefore, concerning subscription, will be, *quis imposuit, et quo animo?*" — (*Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, p. 148.) — This is manifestly an inquiry, of a nature very far removed from that which Mr. F. recommends to us. And, although I cannot agree with Dr. *Paley* either as to his general notion of

that, "according to that construction, the articles may and ought to be subscribed;" and that he,

---

the *intent* of the articles, or as to his idea, that the ANIMUS IMPONENTIS *terminates* with the legislature that enacted them, yet it cannot, I think, be reasonably denied, that he proposes the true *principle* of their interpretation. A just corrective of the laxity with which Dr. *Paley applies* that principle, may be found in Mr. *Gisborne's Principles of Moral Philosophy*, p. 190—192. To this work, as well as to *Bishop Tomline's Elements*, I would earnestly advise the divinity student to resort for accurate notions upon this subject. Very loose opinions have been scattered abroad, by various writers, upon this point; a point, which of all others demands a most conscientious precision. But of all these writers, none, perhaps, of any note, has advanced a more relaxed system, than the late Cambridge Professor, Dr. *Hey*, who, in his *Lectures on Divinity*, however much of learning and good sense they may otherwise contain, has certainly merited the charge made by Bishop Law, of leading the members of the Church "into all the labyrinths of a loose and a perfidious casuistry." (Vol. ii. p. 13.) His description of the nature of the *tacit repeal* adopted by the *Church of Geneva*, (vol. ii. p. 56.) and his manifest recommendation of it as an example to be followed by other churches, will supply a sufficient proof of the truth of this assertion. — Dr. *Powell*, again, another eminent member of the University of Cambridge, has given but too much colour, by certain expressions of his in his *Discourse on Subscriptions*, for the wild opinions of Mr. *Fellowes* upon this subject: although when well considered, and in connexion with the context, they will be found to give him no support. The following observations of this writer deserve to be quoted. Speaking of the subscription of the *clergy*, he says; "Our articles of Religion are not merely articles of Peace. They are designed also as a test of our opinions. For, since it cannot be imagined, that men should explain with clearness, or enforce with earnestness, or defend with accuracy of judgment, such doctrines as they do not believe; the Church requires of those, who are appointed to teach religion, a so-

who thus subscribes them, inasmuch as he maintains a unity of doctrine with the majority of his brethren, "is a better friend to the Church of England, than he is, who may subscribe the articles in a sense more agreeable to the letter," &c.—Thus we are informed by a writer, who boasts of not submitting his opinions to authority, that we are not to exercise our private judgment in discovering the true sense of the articles, but to take it entirely on trust from others. This however turns out, in the conclusion, to be, after all, but a convenient mode of rendering the whole dependent upon the judgment of the very individual, who thus modestly disclaims its exercise. For, since all is now to be decided by the suffrage of the clergy, and since there is no practicable contrivance whereby this suffrage can be numerically collected, the sense of the majority must, of course, be precisely that which each individual may *conceive* it to be. But, again, as it is not merely "the majority of the living members," but "particularly the most learned, upright, and judicious members of the Church of England, that constitute that Church;"

---

lemn declaration of their faith. Nor is it more unreasonable to exclude a man from this office, who, through error, unavoidable suppose, and innocent error, is unfit to execute it; than to deny him a single employment, for which he is accidentally disqualified. He, therefore, who assents to our articles, must have examined them, and be convinced of their truth." — *Dr. Powell's Discourses on various Subjects*, pp. 33, 34. The whole of this passage is well worthy of attention.

it must be the sense of the majority of these, it is manifest, that is to determine the point. Now who are the *most learned, upright,* and *judicious* members of that Church? These clearly *can* be no other than they who reject all *mystery;* who make Christianity nothing but a *moral* rule; who can discern in it nothing more than Dr. Priestley, or Mr. Belsham, or any other free expositor who would divest it of all its peculiarities; who, in short, agree with Mr. Fellowes, in pronouncing the entire sum and substance of the Christian religion to be comprised in Christ's Sermon on the Mount. Thus, then, it appears, that our author ends where he began, and that the true meaning of the articles as well as the genuine sense of Scripture, is to be collected only from him who has supplied us with *The Guide to Immortality.*

Now what is all this less than insanity? But it is the insanity of a vain mind, of which we see too many instances on religious subjects daily. Well might a periodical writer, whose attachment to religious truth entitles him to general praise, describe this writer as "presumptuous, idolizing his own conceptions, and fancying his own reason infallible, and cutting short the line of faith, exactly where it happens to interfere with their suggestions. —— Already" (it is added)* "he is a latitudinarian in the widest

* It should be observed, that these remarks were drawn forth by one of the earliest of this writer's performances.

sense of the word: the natural progress is from that to a fanciful, self-willed, merely nominal Christian; making even the Gospels bend to his own whim. From this point the descent to Deism or even Atheism is perfectly easy: nor do we know, indeed, that a Deist differs much, except in name, from such a Christian."

Mr. F. has, it is true, congratulated himself on his good fortune, in being the subject of these animadversions of the *British Critic;* as they have furnished the occasion of his "receiving so much elegance of praise, from one who is equally distinguished by the vigour of his intellect, and the fervour of his benevolence." (*Relig. without Cant*, pref. p. xxxviii.)—That Dr. *Parr* has proved his *benevolence*, by the high panegyric which he has bestowed upon Mr. F., there can be no question; but whether he has done equal credit to his *intellect*, or, what is of more consequence, whether he has served the cause of truth and of Christianity, by such indulgence of that amiable feeling, is certainly much to be doubted. Had Dr. *Parr* confined himself to the testimony which he has borne to the purity and benevolence * displayed in the private life of Mr.

He has since travelled farther in the same direction; and given additional proof of the justice of those animadversions, and the truth of those prognostics.

* Dr. *Parr* speaks in terms altogether unmeasured of the *benevolent* and *charitable* feelings which uniformly govern the life and guide the pen of Mr. *Fellowes*. And yet it is an

Fellowes, as he is a competent, so he would have been admitted to be an unexceptionable witness. But, in speaking of an author, whose works are before the public, Dr. *Parr*, however highly his learning and talents may be (and highly they ought to be) rated, yet cannot possibly expect, that the opinion, which he thinks fit to pronounce upon that author's productions, shall necessarily regulate the public decision. Perhaps, indeed, in the declarations which this classical and most elaborate writer has hazarded

---

extraordinary effect of those benevolent and charitable feelings, that he should every where throughout his writings pour forth the language of virulence and contempt against all who support the creeds and articles of the Church, against all, in short, who deem any thing beyond his abridged form of Christianity necessary for a Christian. Perhaps even from the writings of the most illiberal bigot a stronger instance of the want of charity cannot be adduced than that which this author supplies (as has been noticed, p. 317.), in speaking of those, who "teach the false and pernicious doctrines of *innate depravity, imputed righteousness*," &c. In short, it is of a writer, who has war continually in his mouth, that Dr. *Parr* pronounces peace to be for ever in his heart. It is almost ludicrous to see such a writer represented as using in his own person the language of Grotius, "Pacem amavi semper amoque," even in the qualified sense in which this pacific disposition is described. (*Spital Sermon*, p. 82.) — Dr. Parr's universal acquaintance with the ancient classics will readily suggest to him whose language I use, when (without being deterred by the "tales pacis hostes insurrecturos," &c.) I beg to substitute for the foregoing the following description, as more aptly illustrative of the character of his friend, — *Ὡς ἐ εἰ τις, αὐτοὺς ξυνέλων, φαίη πεφυκέναι ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐᾶν, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι.*

on the subject of Mr. *Fellowes*'s theological publications, although nothing can shake his reputation as a scholar, he may not have added much to his character as a divine. For when he tells us, that he finds but "*two or three points of controversial divinity* in which he dissents from Mr. *Fellowes*," (who in *almost every point* of controversial divinity dissents from the Articles of the Established Church:) and that he discovers scarcely any thing to be objected to, except "that Mr. F. does not assent to some positions of Mr. *Wilberforce* * about original sin; for the attempt to refute whom, some enlightened believers may applaud, and some orthodox

* Dr. *Parr*, in speaking of the state of his mind respecting the book published by this excellent man, and sincere Christian, which gave rise to the strictures of Mr. *Fellowes*, says, that the description of it lies in the following narrow compass — τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὐ μέμνημαι; τὰ δὲ μέσα, οὐ συνίημι; τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, οὐ δοκιμάζω. — Now although there be some opinions in Mr. *Wilberforce*'s work, to which I am as unwilling to apply the δοκιμάζω as Dr. *Parr* can be; yet I cannot help thinking, that it would neither have discredited his *discernment* to have understood the reasoning, nor his taste and piety to have stored his *memory* with many of the results which it contains. —I confess, I think it but a bad symptom of the times, when even grave characters can be found to join in the vulgar ridicule of distinguished piety: when religious seriousness but serves as a ground for ludicrous denominations and sarcastic epithets; and these too not confined to the light and the malevolent, but receiving a partial sanction from the philosopher and the divine, and even admitted with more than toleration in one of the great assemblies, with whose morality and corruption those of the entire people of these nations are vitally interwoven.

churchmen would pardon him :" — when he tells us these things, he proves beyond a doubt, either that he has perused Mr. F.'s writings with an eye of blamable partiality, where the cause of religious truth demanded an honest search and even a piercing scrutiny; or that his own opinions hang but loosely and uncertainly upon the point of orthodoxy. Dr. *Parr* needs not to be informed, that the truths of Christianity are not to be conceded even to the amiable sympathies of friendship; nor their just measure and degree to be accommodated to the formation of a polished and a pointed sentence. It were to be wished, that in his praises of Mr. F. he had not selected as a mark of his *sense*, his being "a CHRISTIAN WITHOUT BIGOTRY." It certainly, on the other hand, is not to be wondered at, that Mr. *Fellowes* has returned the compliment, by describing his eloquent encomiast, as "a PRIEST WITHOUT INTOLERANCE AND WITHOUT GUILE." — The reciprocal panegyric might surely have been rendered sufficiently palatable, without the seasoning of illiberal aspersions upon *Christianity* and its *Priesthood.*

Dr. *Parr*, for whose general character and talents I feel, in common with all who can appreciate integrity and genius, a sincere and unaffected reverence, may think that I have spoken too strongly upon this subject. But the impress of his praise is no slight matter; and the danger of its giving a circulation to what ought not (and

without it perhaps would not) obtain currency with the public, demands an open exposure of the baseness of the coin, to which it would attach a fictitious value.

In truth, mischievous as are the publications of Mr. *Fellowes*, I should not have thought it necessary to animadvert upon them in this place, but that the eloquent eulogies of Dr. *Parr*, joined to the writer's presenting himself to the public as a clergyman of the Establishment, might, by throwing young readers off their guard as to the true character and object of his works, expose them to be misled by the false lights of a treacherous *Guide*. To such readers, the *satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum*, of the author, is imposing; the specious gloss of liberality and benevolence, which his writings wear, is attractive; the classic authority of his splendid panegyrist is commanding. And, as it was for readers of this description, especially for students in divinity intended for holy orders, that the present work was originally designed, it naturally falls within its province to endeavour to secure them against such snares, when calculated to entrap them into false notions of their duties as professors of a Christian faith, or of their engagements as members of a National clergy.

NO. LXXIII.—THE ATONEMENT BY THE SACRIFICE OF CHRIST MORE STRICTLY VICARIOUS, THAN THAT BY THE MOSAIC SACRIFICES, WHEREBY IT WAS TYPIFIED.

PAGE 64. (°)—The justness of the position, here laid down, will be readily perceived, not only from the observations in pp. 63, 64. of vol. i., but yet more fully from comparing what has been said in Numbers XXXVIII. and XXXIX. on the vicarious *import* of the legal sacrifices, with the remarks in Number XLII. on the true and *essentially vicarious* sacrifice of Christ. The reflections contained in pp. 348, 349. 385, 386. of vol. i. should be particularly attended to, as pointing out the due *proportion* of the Mosaic and Christian atonements. See also p. 59—61. of vol. i., and Number LXVIII. and p. 231, 232. in Number LXIX.

I subjoin here a very extraordinary paragraph, which I find in a treatise of *Danzius de Λύτρῳ Redemptionis humanæ*, on the subject of an admission by the *Jews* of the vicarious suffering of the SON for the sins of men, pursuant to an eternal compact with the FATHER to that end.—"Consentiunt hic nobismet Judæi, scilicet Deum Patrem cum Filio suo jam ab æterno de redimendo humano genere consilium iniise. Hinc notabilem quendam hâc de re inter Deum et Messiam dialogum, per fabulam, fingunt: quem

ex Helvico hic apponere placet, qui eundem ex *R. Mos. Haddarschan*, super Gen. i. 3. excerpsit, et ita sonat; *Dixit Jehova sanctus Benedictus, Messia juste mi! isti, qui sunt reconditi apud te, hujusmodi erunt, quod futurum, ut peccata eorum inducant te in jugum grave*, &c. *Respondit coram eo Messias, Domine mundi! Ego quidem lætus suscipio super me tribulationes istas, sive tormenta: eo tamen pacto, ut tu in diebus meis vivifices mortuos, et eos, qui a primo Adamo usque ad illud tempus mortui fuerint, &c. Dixit ei Sanctus Benedictus, Concedo. Protinus igitur suscepit ex dilectione super se Messias tormenta omnia et tribulationes, sicut scriptum est, Ies.* LIII. AFFLICTUS IPSE, ET ANGUSTIATUS EST." —— *Meuschen. Nov. Test. ex Talm.* p. 850. —— This extract I give to the reader as matter of curiosity.

NO. LXXIV. — CONCLUDING NUMBER.

PAGE 64. (d)—Those objections, the discussion of which would have been improper and impracticable from the pulpit, have been carefully canvassed in the preceding dissertations. It has been the wish of the Author to notice *all* that seemed in any degree deserving of attention. They, who are acquainted with the subject, will, it is hoped, do him the justice to allow, that he has omitted none of moment. Whether he has

been as successful in their refutation, as he has been industrious in their collection, it is for others to judge. This at least he can venture to affirm, that he has examined them with a conscientious regard to Truth and Scripture. And he now concludes this inquiry with an humble, and not unanxious, hope, that the Word of God may not have suffered in his hands.

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE

UNITARIAN SCHEME,

AS DESCRIBED BY MR. BELSHAM,

IN HIS REVIEW OF MR. WILBERFORCE'S TREATISE;

WITH OCCASIONAL STRICTURES

ON THE LEADING ARGUMENTS ADVANCED IN THAT PUBLICATION.

"Οθτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτοιμα μᾶλλον τρέπονται." — *Thucyd.* lib. i. c. 20.

"I like not that arrogant theology, which presumes to explore what *angels desire to look into*, and which, failing in its attempt, rejects as absurd what it is not able to understand."—*Bishop Watson's Charge in* 1795.

"Aperte dicite non vos credere Christi Evangelio: nam qui in Evangelio quod vultis creditis, quod vultis non creditis, vobis potius quam Evangelio creditis."—*Aug. cont. Faust.* tom. vi. p. 336. ed. 1569.

APPENDIX.

In supplement to certain remarks in the preceding sheets, (particularly to those in vol. i. pp. 12, 13. 69—88. 148—154. 168—177.) it becomes necessary to exhibit a brief outline of the opinions of that sect, which, under the assumed title of Unitarian, has presumed to arrogate the exclusive profession of the *Divine Unity;* and which has of late years exerted itself, in the Sister Country, with uncommon zeal and activity, for the subversion of the doctrines and the establishment of the National religion.

An abstract, presenting at one view the leading principles and consequences of the system, divested of the imposing phraseology which writers of modern days know so well how to apply to all objects whether worthy or unworthy, may prove not less beneficial to some who have, than to others who have not, embraced its doctrines. The task, indeed, is not without its difficulty. To seize what is fugitive; to fix that which is ever in the act of change; to chain down the

Proteus to one form, and to catch his likeness ere he has shifted to another;—this is certainly a work not easy to be accomplished. What Unitarianism, however, was in the year * 1798, a writer, who professes himself its faithful interpreter and vindicator, has circumstantially detailed. Mr. Belsham, the late theological teacher at Hackney, has, *ex officio*, announced the creed of the day: and, so far as the principle of dissent can admit concurrence, the doctrines which he has promulged may reasonably be presumed to be those generally received by the Dissenters of the Unitarian denomination throughout the Sister Country.

The scheme, as presented by this writer, in his *Review of Mr. Wilberforce's Enquiry*, is briefly as follows.—Beginning with the existence of "an infinitely powerful, wise, and good Being, as the first and fundamental principle of rational religion," he pronounces the essence of this Being to be *love:* and from this he infers, as a demonstrable consequence, that none of the creatures formed by such a being, "will ever be made eternally miserable." To suppose the contrary, he maintains, is not only inconsistent with the Divine benevolence, but directly con-

* This Appendix was originally drawn up in the year 1800. What have been the wanderings of the fugitive since that period, the Author has had little leisure, and less inclination, to explore. He is also disposed to think, that full as much consequence has been already attached to the subject, as it is entitled to.

tradictory to the plainest principles of justice. That all will rise again after death, he admits to have been taught by Christ: and he likewise admits, that "the wicked will be raised to suffering." But, since God would act *unjustly* in inflicting "eternal misery for temporary crimes, the sufferings of the wicked can be but remedial, and will terminate in a complete purification from moral disorder, and in their ultimate restoration to virtue and happiness*; or, as he elsewhere† expresses it, "Moral evil must be expelled by the application of natural evil;" and, if not fully effected in this life, "the process must be carried on by the severer sufferings of a future retribution."—Thus the doctrine of a *purgatory*‡ stands immoveably fixed on the basis of the Divine justice: and the antithesis between *eternal* misery and *temporary* crimes is made to complete the demonstration of the Unitarian; by which he is not only enabled to communicate "confidence" and "tranquillity" to the "enlightened and virtuous believer§," but, he might have also added, a hardened and fearless security to the impenitent offender: and without this, he contends, "the God of nature must be viewed as frowning over his works, and, like a merciless tyrant, dooming his helpless creatures to eternal misery," &c.‖—Whoever

* *Review*, &c. p. 12—16. † Pp. 41, 42.
‡ See, besides the above references, p. 154.
§ P. 21. ‖ P. 20.

desires to see this curious specimen of reasoning fully examined and exposed, will find ample satisfaction in *Mr. Walker's Letter to Mr. Belsham*, p. 40—42.

Having thus softened down the article of judicial retribution, and lightened guilt of most of its terrors, as well as of much of its deformity, (there being, as he contends, "a preponderance of virtue, even in characters contaminated with the grossest vice*;") he naturally proceeds to depreciate the value of the *atonement by Christ.* —The notion of his death, as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of men, Mr. B. totally rejects: and the doctrine of redemption through his blood, he holds to be an entire mistake, founded in the misunderstanding of certain phrases peculiar to the Jews†: and finally, for the full establishment of his opinions, he refers us to Dr. J. Taylor; the amount of whose reasoning on this head, "in his *admirable* ‡ *Key*," as Mr. B. thinks

* Pp. 14. 38, 39, 40. 42. † Pp. 17, 18. 105, 106.

‡ In a periodical publication, distinguished for the uprightness and talent with which it is conducted, there is to be found a series of valuable letters, upon the subject of the work above alluded to: and in the conclusion, the writer observes as follows, upon this "*admirable Key.*" — "The key of this author is not, I am persuaded, the legitimate one. I should rather be tempted to resemble it to some of those false keys, vulgarly called picklocks.— The web of the key, to speak technically, is, in those ingenious instruments, cut to as *slender a form* as is consistent with the strength necessary for turning the bolt, in order that the chance of the impediment from the wards may be as little as possible. But the lock, with

proper to call it, has been already examined at large, in the foregoing work, especially vol. i. pp. 177—184. 196—198. 314—326.

The merits and the sufferings of Christ having, in the scheme of this writer, no connexion with the acceptance of man; the notion of his divine nature, and even that of his pre-existence, are discarded as wild chimeras. Jesus Christ he considers "as a man *in all respects* like to his brethren:" and he seems particularly anxious that the opinions of the Unitarian should not be confounded with those of Socinus; who, he says, whilst he properly maintains, "that Jesus had no existence before his birth, yet admits the unscriptural and most incredible notion, that, since his resurrection, he has been advanced to the government of the universe."* The father of Socinianism had but half accomplished the work of degrading the Son of God, whilst he allowed him a superiority over the human kind after death. Mr. B., with strict consistency, completes the system; and boldly contends, that

---

which this theological adventurer had to do, was of such a peculiar construction, as to resist every effort to open it, except with the true key. The Doctor gave some desperate wrenches, and doubtless imagined that he had effected his purpose when he found the key turn in his hand. But it has been discovered by others, that he did no more than break it in the lock, and the bolt, for any thing which he has done to remove it, remains where it was before." — *Christ. Observ.* vol. vi. p. 504. — The figure undoubtedly conveys no incorrect idea of the work which it is so much the fashion with Socinian writers, and with good reason, to extol.

* P. 74.

as he differed in no respect from man in his mode of coming into the world, so can he have no dominion or superiority over him in the world of spirits. That he "is indeed now alive, and employed in offices the most honourable and benevolent," he does not attempt to deny: but, since "*we are totally ignorant of the place where he resides, and of the occupations in which he is engaged,*" he maintains, that "there can be no proper foundation for religious addresses to him, nor of gratitude for favours now received, nor yet of confidence in his future interposition in our behalf."* Thus, because we are ignorant of the *place* and *occupations* of the Son of God, is all intercourse between man and his Redeemer at an end! Thus says Mr. Belsham. And so far is he from considering our blessed Lord as an object of religious address, that he can look on him only as the "most excellent of *human* characters, the most eminent of all the prophets of God;" whose "memory he reveres," whose "doctrine he embraces," in whose "promises he confides," and to whose "authority he bows."†

To what then does Christianity amount, on Mr. Belsham's plan? To nothing more than good habits; and these habits, the result of man's own unaided and independent exertions, or rather the result of external influences and irresistible impressions.‡ Those usually received, and (as Mr. Wilberforce properly styles them) *peculiar* doctrines of Christianity, which declare the *cor-*

* P. 85. † Pp. 84, 85. ‡ Pp. 170—175.

rupted state of human nature, the *atonement of the Saviour*, and the *sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit*, our author rejects as utterly inconsistent with truth and Scripture.* The preponderance of virtue over vice in the world at large, and with a very few, if any exceptions, in every individual in particular, he maintains to be indisputable.† The practice of virtue, he pronounces to be the only ground of acceptance with God, without any regard to faith in Christ, to his merits, or his sufferings, all which he proscribes as notions unscriptural and absurd‡: and as to the influence of the Holy Spirit being that which prompts to virtue, he finds little difficulty in expunging this likewise from his creed, being fully satisfied "that the Scriptures do not teach the existence of any such person as the Holy Spirit, and that there is no ground for the expectation of any supernatural operation on the mind."§ The sole incitements to virtuous conduct spring, according to Mr. B., from "the circumstances in which men are placed, and the impressions to which they are exposed:"— "moral and religious habits, not being acquired in any different way from other habits of mind:"‖— that is, according to his reasoning, all being equally the result of a *necessary* opera-

* P. 170. † Pp. 13, 14. 38, 39.
‡ Pp. 104, 105. 172, 173.
§ P. 97.—See also pp. 70, 71. 76, 77, 78, 79.
‖ Pp. 134. 148. 173. 180.

tion: the religious tendency, as well as its opposite, naturally arising out of a certain "state of the brain*;" and "habits growing by the influence of particular impressions with the same regularity and certainty, with which the fruits of the earth are produced and matured by the genial influence of the sun, and of the fructifying showers." †

Thus does the advocate of human *merit* vindicate the *independency* of human virtue. Let us stop for a moment to examine this more fully. — "Virtue‡ is a system of habits, conducing to

* P. 171. † Pp. 174, 175.—also p. 41.

‡ Mr. B. in his *Elements*, where it is his intention to convey his ideas in the most scientific form, defines virtue to be, "the tendency of an action, affection, habit, or character, to the ultimate happiness of the agent." (p. 371.) It is at the same time to be noted, that of this tendency the true and proper judge is the agent himself. What then follows? Why, plainly this, as Dr. Price has properly objected, that, agreeably to this definition, "any the most pernicious and horrible effects will become just and fit to be produced by any being, if but the minutest degree of clear advantage or pleasure may result to him from them." (*Review of Morals*, p. 183.) Now how does Mr. Cooper, who coincides in Mr. Belsham's sentiments, reply to this? "Granted. But *let God look to that.* A future state of retribution has been ascertained for the very purpose of obviating this objection." Mr. B. indeed admits, that "the expression is harsh, and hardly consistent with the reverence due to the Supreme Being;" but contends "that the meaning is just, and the reply satisfactory." — What! a *retribution* hereafter! Wherefore a *retribution?* Must a being, whose only business was to *calculate* the balance of advantage, suffer for a mistake in that calculation, when he made it with a view to that which alone he was bound to look to, his own advantage? And this, too, when he could not by any possi-

the greatest ultimate happiness* :" "and men being the creatures of circumstances, the habits they form, whether good or bad, are the result of the impressions to which they are exposed† ;"— or, as we have just seen, are the result of a *necessary* and *mechanical* operation, and arise out of causes independent of the agent, if such he can be called. Now it seems natural to demand of this writer, in what respect his scheme differs from that part of the high doctrines of Calvin, which he most strongly reprobates? Does he not equally with the reformer of Geneva contend that man has nothing which he can call his own? Does he not, equally with him, reduce every action under the necessary and irresistible control of motives, in which the agent has no choice, and over which he can have no power? And does he not, whilst he thus concurs with the follower of Calvin, differ from himself, by abolishing the very idea of merit, whilst he makes merit the foundation of his system?

---

bility have made a different calculation. For, as Mr. B. informs us, (*Elements*, p. 391.) "the *only* difference between the most virtuous and the most vicious person is, that the former was placed in circumstances, and exposed to impressions, which *generated* virtuous habits and affections, and the latter in circumstances by which vicious principles and dispositions were produced:" the one so circumstanced as that he *must unavoidably calculate right*, and the other so circumstanced as that he *must unavoidably calculate wrong*. — So much for the true distinction between virtue and vice.

* P. 38. † P. 41.

Mr. B., indeed, exerts all his ingenuity, as Dr. Priestley had done before *, to escape from this resemblance to the Calvinist. The attempt, however, is vain. The Unitarian may fancy that he has provided a complete salvo for the difficulties of his system, and a clear distinction from that of the Calvinist, by substituting his notion of a *purgatory* for that of *eternal punishment*. But here, the consequences with which he presses the Calvinist return upon himself. For, if it be inconsistent with "infinite justice and goodness to doom a being to *eternal misery*, for no other cause, but that of not extricating himself out of the state in which his Creator placed him, without any power to act or will †;" I would ask, by what principles of reasoning it can be reconciled to the same infinite justice and goodness, to doom to *temporary misery* a being placed in circumstances precisely similar; *i. e.* determined to one certain mode of action, by an indissoluble chain of motives, and an irresistible necessity. If the idea of *punishment* for that which was the result of inevitable necessity, be repugnant to the essential nature of *justice*, it must be equally so, whether that punishment be of long or of short duration. The *quantity* of the evil endured, if no evil *whatever* ought to be inflicted, can make no change in the nature of the case. The

* *Philosoph. Necessity*, sect. xiii. † *Review*, p. 58.

Power that prolongs or heightens the punishment, where *no* punishment was deserved, may be more malignant, but cannot be more unjust. Thus, then, allowing to the Unitarian the full benefit of his *purgatorial** scheme (for

* The formal notion of a *purgatory* I find laid down by our author, in the *philosophical* treatise before alluded to, in which it is his professed object to give to students accurate and fundamental notions on all the leading subjects of morality and religion. That the precision of his ideas may not suffer in the reporting, I shall state them in his own words. "If there be a future life, the immediate condition of the great mass of mankind when they enter upon it must be a state of very considerable pain and suffering. For the great majority of human characters are alloyed with one or more vicious habits and affections. *These must be put under a process of cure, more or less severe in proportion to the malignity of the moral disease.*"—*Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind*, p. 402. Our author also affirms that he has the testimony of Scripture for this doctrine. I apprehend it must be the *Second of Maccabees*, where *others* have pretended to find it also. Or, perhaps, as he has not joined in turning the doctrine to so good account as those who profess to have found it there, his authority has been of that classical nature which might better suit a philosopher.

"Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt: aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad ventos; aliis sub gurgite vasto
Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni.
Quisque suos patimur Manes." *Æn.* Lib. vi.

"For this are various penances enjoined;
And some are hung to bleach upon the wind;
Some plunged in waters, others plunged in fires,
Till all the dregs are drained, and all the rust expires.
All have their Manes, and those Manes bear."
DRYDEN.

which however Scripture supplies not the smallest foundation), he is exposed, equally with the Calvinist, to the charge, which he himself brings against the latter, of "impeaching the character of his Maker, and traducing his works."* — Thus much for the *consequences* of the two systems.

Again, as to the *principle* of necessity, it is precisely the same, whether the Unitarian endeavour to dignify it, by the title of *philosophical;* or degrade it, by that of *predestinarian.* Or, if Mr. Belsham will still pretend to differ from the follower of Calvin, whom he describes as equally with himself pronouncing man a *necessary* instrument destitute of self-agency, it can only be in this; that whilst the latter makes man a *necessary* instrument in the hand of God, Mr. B.'s system admits the possibility of rescuing him from this slavish subjection to his Maker, by placing him under the irresistible control of *chance,* or *destiny,* or some other *equally* conceivable power. For, to suppose all the actions of man to spring necessarily from motives, and these motives the unavoidable result of external impressions and local circumstances; the divine Spirit giving no direction in the particular case, and the man having no power either to regulate their ope-

---

Pagans, Jews, Mahometans, and *Papists,* have heretofore held these notions: to these we must now add the *Philosophical Unitarian.*

* *Review,* p. 37.

ration or to resist their impulse; is to suppose all that the Stoic and the Atheist could desire.

Such is the exalted *merit* of man, fashioned by the deistical jargon of that, which equally disgraces Christianity and philosophy, by assuming their names. Such are the lights afforded us by the *Rational* Christian: who mends Calvinism by Purgatory; secures to man a property in his actions, by rendering him the unresisting slave of motives; and maintains the interests of religion, by subjecting human conduct solely to the mechanical operations of secondary causes.

It is indeed extremely difficult to make out Mr. Belsham's system. But it is one of the advantages of inconsistency, that the statement of the absurdities in one part of an argument, is liable to be discredited by contradictory positions in another. Thus, whilst Mr. B. repeatedly affirms, that man is not to look to the influence and sustaining aid of the divine Spirit, but solely to his own exertions, or, as he most singularly explains these exertions, to circumstances and impressions which work upon his mind by a mechanical and necessary operation; he professes, in other places, not altogether to banish the notion of the divine agency. "We are," he says, "thankfully to ascribe all our improvements, our hopes, and our consolations, to God."* Mr. B. has here struck a little out of

* P. 175.

the path to direct Atheism, in which he seemed before rapidly advancing: and this saving clause was indispensable to a writer, who professes a belief in the existence of a God. But when we come to inquire, on what ground our gratitude is due to a Being, who has not contributed by any beneficial influence to the improvement of our virtue, we find our independence of a divine grace still carefully secured, inasmuch as the sole foundation of our thankfulness to the Supreme Being is, that "to his appointment, and continued agency, all causes owe their efficacy."* It is, then, for the original constitution and general arrangement of the works of nature alone that we are to be grateful; and not for any special operation of a divine influence, in any individual case. May we not, therefore, fairly apply to our philosopher, what Cicero pronounced of the refiners of ancient times, "*verbis* reliquisse Deos, *re* sustulisse?"

But, that we may the more perfectly understand our author's meaning, he supplies us with a specimen of the mode in which a judicious instructer should endeavour to reclaim a vicious person, desirous of reformation. Having first carefully guarded him against all unscriptural doctrines, such as *original sin*, *atonement*, *merits of Christ*, and the like; having warned him, not to expect any supernatural impressions upon

* Pp. 175. 180.

his mind, nor to imagine that moral and religious habits are to be acquired in a way different from any other; having pointed his attention, particularly, to those parts of Scripture, which direct him to *do justice*, to *love mercy*, &c.: having urged him to fix in his mind just and honourable sentiments of God, as the greatest, wisest, and best of beings*;"—he proceeds, more circumstantially, to the case of the offender; and beginning, in due form, with a *definition* of Virtue, "as a course of conduct leading to the greatest ultimate happiness," and of Vice, as "that which leads to misery;"—he next lays before the sinner, (or, in the milder vocabulary of Mr. B., the "person oppressed by the tyranny of evil habits†,") the exact state of his case.—"You are deficient in virtuous habits; you wish to form them: you have contracted vicious affections; you wish‡ to exterminate them. You

* P. 174. † P. 172.

‡ N. B. It is above all things necessary for the reformation of this person "oppressed by the tyranny of evil habits," (so alarming and fanatical a phrase as that of *sinner* I must not use,) that he feel *no remorse*, be the vicious acts that he has committed ever so enormous. For Mr. Belsham informs us, in his *Elements*, (pp. 307. 406.) that "the doctrine of philosophical necessity *supersedes* remorse." And, indeed, it is happy that it does so; because, whilst, on the one hand, he pronounces remorse *not to be essential* to repentance; he proves, on the other, that it is a thing in itself *highly pernicious*; inasmuch as it is "founded upon the belief, that in the same previous circumstances it was possible to have acted otherwise."—A perfect freedom from uneasiness of mind, after the murder of a parent, or the seduction of the

know the circumstances in which your vicious habits were originally contracted, and by which they have been confirmed. Avoid* these cir-

---

innocent; an undisturbed composure, flowing from the conviction that under all the circumstances it was impossible to have acted otherwise, must surely contribute much to accelerate the repentance of the offender, and to complete his reformation!

* This is a whimsical sort of address, from a writer who, upon his principle of *necessity*, maintains the impossibility of avoiding, upon the recurrence of similar circumstances, any act which has once been performed. For if this be, as he contends it is, (*Elements*, &c. p. 107.) a sufficient reason for asserting that the person, who has once yielded to any temptation, *must* under the like circumstances yield to it again, and that, consequently, the only chance for his escape is to be found in flight; it must likewise be a sufficient reason for concluding that he, who has not at one time been able to fly from the circumstances which brought the temptation, will not be able to fly from them at another; the circumstances at the time of the intended flight being the same as before: and thus the impossibility recurs *ad infinitum*.— Our writer had condemned Mr. Godwin, (*Elements*, &c. p. 405.) for the indiscreet avowal of the consequences of this system; namely, that *necessary agents are incapable of moral discipline*. But has not Mr. B. himself, as completely disclosed the secret by his reasoning? For, if a *necessary agent* can never acquire an increase of strength, to resist the temptations of vice, where is the improvement in moral discipline? This *Parthian* moralist, who is to be for ever unequal to the ϛαδίκ ὑσμίνῃ, and can hope to conquer only by flying, will find that he will not have much to boast of in the way of conquest, if his steed is to be as much fettered in the flight as he is himself manacled in the conflict. Alas! that Mr. B. will not permit his penitent to call to his aid that auxiliary, and that armour, which would enable him to *quench all the fiery darts of the wicked!*

cumstances, *and give the mind a contrary bias.* You know what impression will produce justice, benevolence, &c.—*Expose your mind repeatedly and perseveringly to the influence of these impressions*, and the affections themselves will gradually rise, and insensibly improve, &c.—*ALL that is required is judgment, resolution, time, and perseverance!*"* —— Really, Mr. B. must excuse me, if I take the liberty of saying, that I know nothing in the English language equal to this, except the *Energies of Miss Bridgetina Botherim.*† It is not my intention to introduce

* Pp. 174, 175.

† *Modern Philosophers:* — a work which, if perused with feelings favourable to religion and order, must be allowed to furnish a decisive proof that Mrs. Hannah More is not the only female, of the present day, by whom zeal and talents have been eminently displayed, in defence of all that can be deemed valuable in this life, and in that which is to come.

Were we, in truth, to search out among the authors of later times, for those who have most successfully promoted the cause of virtue and religion, by the combination of what is most interesting with what is most edifying in their writings, we should find them to have been principally of the other sex. With the name of *Mrs. Hannah More*, who ranks eminent in that class, — and whose numerous and diversified publications, scattering their benefits through every gradation of society, from the prince down to the peasant, have come home to the breasts of all with that irresistible force which springs from the united powers of piety and genius, — we have to connect, in grateful remembrance, the names of *Hamilton*, of *Bowdler*, of *West*, of *Chapone*, and (notwithstanding something that one could wish to be otherwise) of *Barbauld.* To " the venerable *Elizabeth Carter* and the blooming *Elizabeth Smith*," we have also to cast our eyes; if, in Mrs. More's words, we would " contemplate profound and various learning

ludicrous ideas upon such a subject: but the resemblance is too striking and apposite to be overlooked.

So far as Mr. Belsham's language is intelligible, his process of conversion amounts to this: — He tells the vicious person, that he has contracted bad habits; and he desires him by all means to get rid of them. How far this salutary advice and direction would operate to the reformation of the sinner, they, who may have been reclaimed from vicious courses by such means, can best say. But one thing deserves particularly to be remarked, that, whilst the mind of the sinner is directed to contemplate the excellence of virtue, to excite its own energies, to expose itself to impressions, and the like, not one word escapes of the propriety of *prayer*; on the contrary, all supplication for divine assistance seems to be expressly excluded, and, indeed, evidently must be so, on Mr. Belsham's principles. For, if goodness be the *necessary* result of impressions and circumstances, the mechanical effect of par-

---

chastised by true Christian humility;" and if we would wish to dwell on the recollection of "acquirements, which would have been distinguished in a university, meekly softened and beautifully shaded by the gentle exertion of every domestic virtue, the unaffected exercise of every feminine employment." (*Cœlebs*, pp. 250, 251.) Did my present subject lead me merely to advert to the distinction which superior talents, exquisite taste, and the charms of fine composition, confer upon the female writers of the present day, it would be impossible to overlook the commanding claims of Miss Edgeworth.

ticular traces on the brain, derived from the general operation of established and unalterable laws of our constitution, there is no room, in the particular case, for divine interference. We may, according to Mr. B.'s principles, indulge in sentiments of complacency to that first Cause, the beneficial effects of whose original arrangement we feel in the individual instance; but *prayer* addressed to the Divine Being can have no rational object. Prayer, accordingly, forms no part of this writer's system. In no one line of his work does he recognise it as a Christian duty: — indeed the mention of it has not once escaped him.

It is not then surprising, that we should find Mr. B. endeavouring to diminish the opportunities and inducements to prayer by contending, that the Christian religion has not prescribed the appointment of a day for the purposes of divine worship. But he goes farther. He affirms, that "Christianity expressly abolishes every such distinction of days:" * that, "under the Christian dispensation, every day is alike; no one more holy than another: that whatever employment, or amusement, is lawful or expedient upon any one day of the week, is equally lawful and expedient on any other day †:" that, consequently, "a virtuous man is performing his duty to the Supreme Being, as really, and as acceptably, when he is pursuing the proper business of

* *Review*, p. 20. † Pp. 20. 139.

life, or even when enjoying its innocent and decent amusements, as when he is offering direct addresses to him in the closet, or in the temple."* From these premisses he peremptorily concludes, that all distinctions of days should be exploded: that our business, and our amusements, should be pursued on every day alike: and that the laws which enjoin the observance of the Sabbath are "unreasonable and unjust."† He likewise maintains, that the Sabbatical spirit naturally leads to uncharitable and censorious feelings‡; that "persons who are *so very religious* on a Sunday," (as to make regular attendance on the services of the church a matter of conscience,) "are too apt to lay aside religion for the rest of the week§;" and that, upon the whole, the Sabbatical observance is highly injurious to the cause of Virtue. To this pernicious institution our author does not scruple to attribute the decrease of national morality: and he rejoices, with a *Christian joy*, that the late "ill advised" proposition, "for enforcing a stricter observation of the Lord's day," was wisely rejected by the Legislature.‖

Now, it may perhaps occur to a plain, unphilosophical reader to inquire, what sort of teacher of Christianity is this, who thus levels Christ, through the *whole* of his existence, to the rank of human nature; — leaves man, for acceptance,

* P. 133. † Pp. 140, 141. ‡ P. 141.
§ P. 142. ‖ P. 203.

to his own merit; and that *merit* the pure result of external impressions, and mechanical operation; — rejects the notion of prayer*, making

* How different are the reflections of true philosophy, guided by a pious reverence for the superior lights of Revelation! The words of a distinguished and attractive writer, whose publications have always tended to promote, what his life has uniformly exemplified, the love and practice of virtue, are too interesting and important to be omitted on this subject.—"If we admit the truth of Revelation, the evidence which it delivers of the *special interposition of God*, in the physical and moral government of the world, must be deemed *decisive*. Instead, therefore, of involving ourselves in the mazes of metaphysical subtilty, let us direct our attention to the foundation of that intercourse with the Deity, which is at once the most interesting duty, and the noblest privilege of our nature. We are taught that *he who cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them who diligently seek him:* that *in him we live, and move, and have our being:* that *as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him:* that *if we, being evil, know how to give good gifts to our children, how much more shall our Father, which is in heaven, give good things to them that ask him. For this thing,* says St. Paul, *I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me:* And our Saviour is recorded to have prayed the *third time, saying the same words, O! my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: Nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt.* Indeed the form of devotion, which Christ recommended to his disciples, affords the clearest proof that he regarded prayer as an acceptable and efficacious act. Nor is this supposition inconsistent with that immutability of the divine attributes, which is essential to their nature and perfection. The wisdom, benevolence, and justice of the Deity are *the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.* But this unchangeableness implies, that in their exercise they are always accommodated to the purest rectitude, and to the greatest sum of felicity. And thus a Providence is established, which discriminates between the virtuous and the vicious;

man as it were independent of his Maker; — and, finally, proscribes the Sabbath, as *destruc-*

---

which adapts the properest means to the accomplishment of the best ends; and regulates all things so as to work together for the highest good. To this superintending direction a pious Christian will look up, with humble confidence, *for ease under suffering, for protection in danger,* and *consolation in sorrow.* If prayer were not enjoined, as a duty, he would instinctively perform it as a refuge for human infirmity. And he may reasonably presume, that such filial dependence will be indulgently accepted by his heavenly Father, who in his divine administration is characterized as being ever ready *to bind up the broken in heart; to heal the wounded in spirit; and to give good gifts to them that* worthily *ask him.*" FATHER'S INSTRUCTIONS—*Part the Third—by Thos. Percival, M. D.* p. 118—120. I the more willingly refer to this excellent performance, because, independent of the value of the passage here extracted, and the vein of fervent piety which pervades the entire volume, the observations which it contains on the subject of the *Divine permission of Evil,* the topics it suggests for the farther confirmation of the *Evidences of Christianity,* and the directions it conveys for the due regulation of the *Clerical conduct and character,* entitle it to the most serious perusal of every friend to religion and virtue.

Since the date of the first edition of this work, the revered person, spoken of in the above note, has paid the last debt of nature: and has gone to receive, in another state, the reward of the piety and virtues which distinguished him in this.—To offer any general remarks here upon the life and character of a man so estimable and so esteemed, would be little worthy of a subject whose magnitude and interest entitle it to the most ample consideration. To the memory of this venerated friend, I have already elsewhere offered an humble tribute. And happily, as preserving to society a valuable light, a complete Memoir of his life and writings has been given to the public, by his son, Dr. Edward Percival, now of Dublin.—This Memoir, prefixed to the entire collection of Dr.

tive of Religion and Morality? Mr. B. being aware that such a question would naturally suggest itself, has been careful to supply the answer. He tells us, that he desires to be considered, as a "Moral teacher of Christianity."* And, lest we might not perfectly understand the nature of this *Moral* or *Unitarian* Christianity which he teaches, he informs us, that it is *substantially* the same with the system of Lepaux, and the Theophilanthropes of France. This is a fair and candid account of the matter. The same title, which they can produce to the denomination of Christians, Mr. B. can undoubtedly advance. Indeed, his must be allowed to be yet stronger: for, though, as he observes, their "common principle is a belief in the existence, perfection, and providence of God, and in the doctrine of a future life; and their rule of morals, love to God, and good will to men;" and thus, as he remarks, their "professed principles *comprehend the essence of the Christian religion;* yet, in not admitting the resurrection of Christ, the Theophilanthropists deprive themselves of the only

---

Percival's works, must be too well known and too justly appreciated, to render it necessary for me to enlarge upon the fidelity and ability with which it has been executed. The spirit which it breathes, and the talent which it exhibits, conspire to afford the happiest presage, that the son will prove himself, through life, not unworthy of the father, whose endowments, whose attainments, and whose excellencies, he has recorded.

* P. 227.

solid ground on which to build the hope of a future existence."* Thus, we see, in one short view, the nature of Mr. Belsham's Unitarian scheme, and its advantage over that of the French Theophilanthropes. He not only holds, in common with them, the above-mentioned *essential principles of Christianity;* but he also maintains, in addition, that a *man* has actually risen from the dead: the admission of which *fact* into the creed of the Theophilanthropes, he candidly confesses, would have left his scheme no superiority over theirs; inasmuch as, *by laying a solid ground for their doctrine of a future life,* it would have rendered their system perfectly complete.

But, seriously, are these the doctrines of that sect, who call themselves *Unitarians,* in the sister country: or are they erroneously ascribed to them by Mr. Belsham? Indeed, if we are to judge from the applause bestowed on Mr. B.'s performance by writers of that denomination in England, we have reason to think that he has given a fair representation. Now, if he has, it surely seems unworthy of men, who exult in the open and fearless avowal of their opinions, to trifle with the name of *Christian;* and if he has not, it is full time, that they should throw back Mr. B.'s doctrines on himself, and his Theophilanthrope associates. I am most willing to admit, that no person has a right to deny to Mr. B. the appellation of a "Moral teacher." To this

* P. 217.

he is fully entitled, as having a firm belief in the existence and *general* providence of God; and as inculcating principles, that tend to beget love and gratitude to that Being, and to produce a corresponding benignity of affection to our fellow-creatures, impressing the duties of benevolence and social kindness to man, as, I make not the smallest question, he truly feels them. But, whilst thus much is freely admitted, surely Mr. B. cannot reasonably be offended if he should be denied the appellation of a "*teacher of Christianity?*" For what is Christianity? Is it any thing differing from the natural religion of the Deist? And if differing; is it in doctrines, or in precepts? Not in doctrines, according to Mr. B.; for he asserts, again and again, that it has none *peculiar*. Is it in precepts? No, says Mr. B.; for the pure and simple scheme of the Theophilanthrope, who rejects Revelation, "comprehends the *essence* of Christianity." And has, then, Jesus Christ passed as a mute across the great stage of human affairs? And shall we denominate ourselves from Him who has taught us nothing different from what we knew before? No, says Mr. B., this is not so: by his rising from the dead, he has *proved to us the certainty of a future life*. — Is this then Christianity? — Of this, Mr. B. may be an excellent teacher: but in such Christianity, his instructions will, I trust, ever be confined to a very small number indeed.

And is Mr. B. displeased with Mr. Wilber-

force, for calling this "a sort of halfway-house between orthodoxy and infidelity?" I cannot but think, that most people of plain sense and candid minds, who have not been visited by any rays of modern illumination, will rather be of opinion, that Mr. W. has erred, in not advancing this mansion a little beyond the middle point. Nor is this without countenance from Mr. B. himself, since he confesses, that "of the two he would rather approach the confines of cold and cheerless scepticism, than the burning zone of merciless orthodoxy*;" by which last it must be observed, he understands the principles of Christianity, as held by the Established Church; *merciless* being merely the ordinary adjunct to the character of every established priesthood.

On this subject, Mr. B. exhibits rather an unfortunate specimen of that calm and softened charity, which distinguishes and adorns the temperate region, where he rejoices to find himself placed, in a happy medium between the two above-mentioned "ineligible extremes." A want of integrity, a disregard of truth, "indolence, pride, and bitter zeal against all who oppose the doctrines of the public creed," he represents as the never failing consequences of an established religion, "whether true or false;" the unvarying characteristics of "an established priesthood." Such a body, he contends, "is, in its very nature, a persecuting order." "All breathe the same

* P. 263.

fiery and intemperate spirit. Truth and honest inquiry they are paid to discountenance and repress."* "Interested priests and crafty statesmen will continue to support a religious establishment, which answers their private and political purposes, at the same time that they hold its doctrines in contempt."† The object, to which these observations are intended more immediately to apply, Mr. B. does not leave his reader at a loss to discover, when he plainly affirms, that the heads of *our* Establishment look to means very different from that of "a sincere faith in" their own "creeds and homilies, for the prosperity of the National Church ‡:" — and with the same liberal reference it is, that he reminds us of the saying of Cicero, "that he wondered how augur could meet augur without laughing:" and again, of that memorable exclamation of Leo, in the days of papal Rome, "How lucrative is this fable of Jesus Christ §!" — thus clearly intimating, what a warm supporter of his doctrines and his performance has since announced in terms a little more direct, — "it is well known, that many of our public teachers laugh in their sleeves, — and some of these sleeves, they say, are of *lawn*, — at those doctrines, which they inculcate from the pulpit, with a pretended earnestness."‖

Nor does Mr. Belsham confine his charges to

* P. 199. † Pp. 230. 233. ‡ P. 220. § P. 230.

‖ *Layman's Letters to Mr. Wilberforce on the Doctrine of Hereditary Depravity*, p. 172.

those who are the immediate superintendents of the national *religion.* Though particularly favoured with Mr. B.'s notice, they do not entirely engross it. By his observations on the institution of a national fast*, he takes care to hold up the civil, no less than the ecclesiastical heads of the state, as objects of public contempt and execration, for their gross insincerity, and unprincipled imposition on the people. Now, if all this be of the nature of that charity, which belongs to the middle region, under whose temperate influence Mr. B. professes to enjoy philosophic repose, I rather apprehend that the inhabitant of this "pleasant and commodious dwelling" is as far removed from the *charity,* as he boasts to be from the *peculiar doctrines,* of *Christianity.*

It must, indeed, be confessed, that great allowance is to be made for those who have been, as it were, rocked in the very cradle of discontent; and who have been used, from infancy, to view every act of the Government, and every ordinance of the Church, with the bitterness of a discomfited and vindictive enemy. But it is strange, that whilst language of the nature here cited every where deforms Mr. B.'s pages, and those of his Unitarian associates, they should make the *want of charity* the principal charge against all who hold Christianity in any other, than the vague, and fleeting form, in which they profess to embrace it. In the management of a controversy,

* *Review,* pp. 204, 205.

it may not indeed be bad policy to charge the adversary with whatever unfair arts you mean to resort to yourself. Thus, whilst the opposite party bears all the odium, you possess yourself of the profit. So, at least, it seems to be with the writers of Mr. B.'s way of thinking. A total want of candour and charity is perpetually objected to all who defend the rectitude of the National religion; whilst every principle of both is grossly violated, by those who oppose it:— and at the same time that the charge of self-interest is freely bestowed upon such as support the Establishment; it is hoped that it will not be remembered that interest is as much concerned to acquire, as to retain; it is modestly expected that no mention will be made of the pride and fervour of party; and that no note will be taken of the resentful jealousy of those temporal advantages, which, as they form the leading theme of animadversion, may not unreasonably be presumed to be the principal ground of hostility.

In a spirit congenial to these feelings, Mr. B. seems not a little to have participated, when he thus openly states, as in another place* he indirectly insinuates, under the thin covering of the terms paganism and popery, that the religion of the Church of England is a mere engine of state; and as such "cried up by interested statesmen and their hireling priests;" who, he says again, naturally "support that religion which supports

* P. 196.

them*:" and that, at this moment, "*pure Christianity*" (by which he describes the system taught by himself and Dr. Priestley) "is so far from meeting with public encouragement in England, that it is in a state bordering upon persecution."† This last remark indeed seems, according to Mr. B.'s view of things, to have been altogether unnecessary. The assertion, that "an established priesthood is in its very nature a persecuting order," renders this a tautologous position. But, in what way do these professors of *pure Christianity* appear to be "in a state bordering upon persecution?" Simply, because they are not permitted to rail against established authority with impunity; to preach up doctrines in *politics*, subversive of subordination; to bring the government, both in church and state, into disrepute and contempt amongst the people, by every species of calumny; to establish the enlightened system of France, the Theophilanthropism of Lepaux, and the miso-monarchism of Paine. The government, the clergy, and the people of England, are surely much to blame for throwing any obstacles in the way of such great reforms!

And what is the grand proof, adduced by Mr. B. of the persecution carried on against *pure Christianity*, in England, at the present day? Plainly this, that the great champion of Unitarianism has been driven from his native country,

* P. 233. † P. 197.

and "compelled to seek for refuge" from the rage of persecuting bigotry "in the transatlantic wilderness;"—in which, however, it appears that he is subject to no deprivations; since we are informed in the very next line, that, in this *wilderness*, he has the good fortune to be surrounded by "enlightened sages."* But, ludicrous as is this picture of the *wilderness of sages*, here presented by our author, it were unfeeling, and unpardonable, to trifle on such a subject. What Dr. Priestley's reasons may have been for exchanging England for America, I shall not presume to pronounce. That they are not to be resolved "*solely*" into his *religious* opinions, as Mr. B. seems desirous to convey, is, I believe, pretty generally understood. That the purity of Dr. P.'s private character, the amiable simplicity of his manners, the variety and strength of his talents, the persevering industry with which he pursued what he deemed useful truth, and the independent spirit with which (had it not been frenzied by the intemperance of party) he might have so profitably maintained it,—are circumstances, which must make every good man regret that misapplication of his powers, which rendered it necessary for him to abandon his native country in the decline of life, I will most readily admit; and I freely subscribe to the strongest testimony which his warmest admirers

* Pp. 197, 198.

can bear to the many and great virtues which adorn his private life. But, whilst I most cheer-

* From a friend, of the highest literary distinction and moral worth, who was connected by habits of early and continued intimacy with Dr. Priestley, I received, on the first publication of these remarks on that author's character, a letter containing the following observations.

"The character you give of Dr. Priestley has reminded me of that drawn by Dr. Samuel Parr, in his letter from Irenopolis to the inhabitants of Eleutheropolis. As this pamphlet was a temporary publication during the riots of Birmingham, and you have probably never seen it, I will transcribe the passage to which I refer.— 'I confess, with sorrow, that, in too many instances, such modes of defence have been used against this formidable Heresiarch, as would hardly be justifiable in the support of Revelation itself, against the arrogance of a Bolingbroke, the buffoonery of a Mandeville, and the levity of a Voltaire. But the cause of orthodoxy requires not such aids. The Church of England approves them not. The spirit of Christianity warrants them not. Let Dr. Priestley be confuted where he is mistaken. Let him be exposed where he is superficial. Let him be rebuked where he is censorious. Let him be repressed where he is dogmatical. But let not his attainments be depreciated, because they are numerous almost without a parallel. Let not his talents be ridiculed, because they are superlatively great. Let not his morals be vilified, because they are correct without austerity, and exemplary without ostentation; because they present even to common observers the innocence of a hermit and the simplicity of a patriarch; and because a philosophic eye will at once discover in them, the deep-fixed root of a virtuous principle, and the solid trunk of virtuous habit.' This beautiful portrait is, I think, accurate in its lineaments. But there are two features in the character of Dr. Priestley, which it does not exhibit, and which to you I will not scruple to communicate. He has a sort of *moral apathy*, which makes him absolutely insensible of the severity of the wounds he inflicts in his polemic discussions. Feeling no enmities in his con-

fully make these concessions to the talents and the virtues of Dr. Priestley, and whilst I join in the most decided reprobation of those savage acts of violence, which in his instance have disgraced the annals of English polity, yet I cannot hesitate to believe that if, in any country in which the direction of affairs was held by those enlightened politicians, and professors of *pure Christianity*, who form the associates of Dr. Priestley and

---

stitution, he makes no discrimination between friends and foes. And having adopted the language and dipped his pen in the gall of controversy, he suspects not that he excites bitterness of heart, because he is unconscious of it in himself. I could exemplify this observation, by his treatment of Dr. Enfield, Dr. Brocklesby, Judge Blackstone, and several others whom he really loved or respected. Another striking trait in his character, is an almost total deficiency in *discretion*, that intellectual faculty, which is, as Pope well expresses it, 'although no science, fairly worth the seven.' — A report has prevailed here, that Dr. Priestley proposes to return to England. But I find that his latest letters signify his intention of passing the remainder of his life in America, where he is happy in every respect, except the enjoyment of literary society, and possesses a library and philosophical apparatus far superior to those which he had at Birmingham."

This fragment, containing so much that is interesting concerning Dr. Priestley, will, I conceive, not be unacceptable to the reader; and although I consider the bright parts of the character to have been too highly emblazoned by Dr. Parr, the darker spots to have been too sparingly touched by my much valued correspondent, and some important points to have been entirely overlooked by both, yet I cannot withhold from the memory of a man certainly possessed of many amiable qualities, and some extraordinary endowments, a tribute, to which two persons, eminent for their worth and their attainments, have conceived him to be justly entitled.

Mr. Belsham, any man had employed himself, for a series of years, in labouring to overturn the established order of things, and had even advanced so far, as, in the intoxication of his fancied success, openly to boast that he had prepared a train whereby the whole must inevitably be destroyed *, a very different lot from that which

* "We are, as it were, laying gunpowder, grain by grain, under the old building of error and superstition, which a single spark may hereafter inflame, so as to produce an instantaneous explosion." — *Importance of Free Enquiry*, p. 40. What Dr. P. means by the *old building of error and superstition*, the context sufficiently explains. On the impossibility of supporting the ecclesiastical constitution, if once a great majority of the people can be made hostile to it; and on "the power of small changes in the political state of things, to overturn the best-compacted establishments," he likewise enlarges with much earnestness and force: ibid. pp. 39. 41. 44. The fittest seasons, and best opportunities, for *silently* working out the great effects, which he here professes to hold in view, this writer had before communicated to his fellow-labourer Mr. Lindsey, in the dedication of his *History of Corruptions*, pp. 6, 7. — "While the attention of men in power is engrossed by the difficulties that more immediately press upon them, the endeavours of the friends of reformation, in points of doctrine, pass with *less notice*, and operate *without obstruction*." Times of public danger and difficulty are thus pointed out, as best suited to lay that train, which was finally to explode with the ruin of the establishment. And, indeed, at an earlier period of life, he had even ventured to promise himself a more rapid accomplishment of the great object of his wishes. Speaking of the Establishment, and those abuses which he ascribes to the principles of the hierarchy, he does not scruple to predict, that in "some general convulsion of the state, some bold hand, secretly impelled by a vengeful Providence, shall sweep down the whole together." — *View of the Principles and Conduct of the Protestant Dissenters*, p. 12. — Passages

has fallen to Dr. Priestley would await him. The privilege of transferring his residence to another land, unless indeed it were to that land from which no traveller returns, would hardly be conceded. Our enlightened philosophers, of the present day; adopt on these occasions much simpler modes of proceeding; and a peep across the British Channel may readily satisfy us as to the nature of the process, where there is *no* "lucrative fable of Jesus Christ" to be maintained; *no* "established* clergy to breathe the fiery spirit of persecution;" and where the rights of civil and religious man are explained and exercised upon the broadest principles of a philosophy, untrammelled, even to Mr. B.'s most sanguine wishes.

One distinction between the two cases may, indeed, possibly exist. The professors of an all-perfect philosophy and a rational Christianity *knowing* theirs to be the cause of virtue, and acting only from a love of truth, are meritorious in removing, by *whatever* means, all impediments to the accomplishment of ends so glorious, as those *they* hold in view: whereas the advocates of received doctrines, and of existing establishments, not even believing what they profess, and

---

conveying similar sentiments in the writings of Dr. Priestley might be accumulated: but their notoriety renders it unnecessary.

* It will be recollected that this was written in the year 1800.

being only concerned to defend a lucrative falsehood, are, by the original sin of their cause, criminal in the performance of every act, however natural and necessary, which has a tendency to maintain it. This distinction may, possibly, supply a satisfactory explanation:—but to proceed.

As I cannot entirely agree with Mr. Belsham respecting the persecution carried on by the Established clergy against those, who, under the title of Unitarians, are, as Mr. B. affirms, the only professors of a *pure* Christianity; so neither do I agree with him respecting that, which he deems a natural consequence of this persecution,—the great increase of this body in numbers and consequence. Possibly, indeed, without making any very valuable concession to Mr. B., it might be admitted, that "the number of *Rational* Christians," (by which he means *Unitarians*, or the professors of his *Moral Christianity*,) "was never so great as at present*:"—a position, which, at the same time, but badly accords with the assertion, that the early Christian church was almost exclusively Unitarian. But, that "it is still a progressive cause," can by no means be allowed. So that Mr. B. may safely release his mind from all apprehensions of that, which he so sincerely deprecates, "the *support* of civil authority;" from which he seems to dread the only impediment to its triumphant progress.

If, indeed, by "progressive cause," be meant

* *Review*, p. 198.

a progression in its course to that, which seems its natural termination, Deism; it might, undoubtedly, in that sense be admitted to be progressive. But if thereby be meant, a continued increase of numbers, nothing can be more opposite to the real state of the case. For let any candid and reflecting man, even of this very denomination, lay his hand upon his heart, and say what he thinks likely to be the case of the rising generation, educated in the Unitarian principles: let him say, what *has* been the case of those educated in *the straitest principles of the sect*, under the immediate instruction of its greatest luminaries, Dr. Priestley and Mr. Belsham, at the Academy of Hackney. Let Mr. B. himself say, what has been the progressive nature of the cause in that seminary. Mr. B. has too great a regard for truth, not to admit, that the pupils of the new light had gone beyond their teachers a little too far; that they had somewhat too strongly* exemplified the progres-

* Mr. Belsham himself, in speaking of this subject, is obliged in a great measure to acknowledge the truth of this charge. "This fact," (he says, alluding to a statement similar to the above made by Mr. Carpenter,) "to a certain extent, cannot be denied; and, most surely, it excited unpleasing sensations in many, and not least in the minds of those whose endeavours to form them to usefulness in the Church were thus painfully disappointed."—However, immediately after, he seems, in the contrast between the systems pursued at Hackney and in other seminaries where education is conducted on a different principle, to change the tone of lamentation on this head into a note of triumph. "It is an easy

sive nature of the system, by reaching at once the goal of *Deism*, and that in some instances,

---

thing," he remarks, "for tutors to educate their pupils in the trammels of any religious faith which they may choose. Take away the key of knowledge, and the business is done. You bring them out at once Calvinists, Arians, Papists, Protestants, any thing that you please; and ready to join in the cry against any sect, which, for the season, may be obnoxious to the ruling party. This was not the method pursued at Hackney: they gloried in encouraging freedom of inquiry: nor were they at all apprehensive, that the interests of truth and virtue would suffer by it in the end." (*Letters on Arianism*, p. 40.)—Thus, Mr. Belsham, on second thoughts, is of opinion, that what was done in Hackney, is a thing to be gloried in: and that in educating those who were designed for the Christian ministry, so as to render them Infidels and Atheists, "the interests of truth and virtue cannot suffer in the end."

But, that we may the better form a right judgment of that which is conceived to constitute the excellence of those dissenting academies, to which such friends of rational inquiry as Mr. Belsham and Dr. Priestley have been used to look for the real improvement of youth, I here give an extract from Dr. Priestley's Memoirs relative to this subject.—"In my time, the academy was in a state *peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth, as the students were about equally divided upon every question of much importance, such as liberty and necessity, the sleep of the soul, and all the articles of theological orthodoxy and heresy;* in consequence of which, *all these topics* were the *subjects of continual discussion.* Our tutors were of different opinions: Dr. Ashworth taking the orthodox side; Mr. Clarke, the sub-tutor, that of heresy, though always with the greatest modesty."——Here is a view of the true way, in which, under the guidance of the new lights of philosophy and religion, youth is to be led on "inter sylvas Academi quærere verum." The calm and undisturbed retirement of study exchanged for the unceasing wrangling of a debating club. Tutor and sub-tutor, master and pupil,

perhaps not a few, the race had been crowned with the prize of direct, avowed, and unqualified ATHEISM.

---

all together by the ears, continually, on the gravest and deepest subjects of theological controversy; and the sublimest truths and most awful mysteries of revelation bandied about amongst boys, as the common and hourly topics of disputation: whilst the parties of combatants on every subject are equally matched, and falsehood and truth, infidelity and religion, maintained by equal numbers. Under such circumstances of education, it has been truly remarked in reference to Dr. Priestley, that in the course which, by his own account, he steered in his theological opinions, there is nothing to excite surprise. "A Calvinist at twelve; becoming an Arminian at eighteen; at twenty-one an Arian; at twenty-four a denier of his Saviour, and a disbeliever in the inspiration of the Scriptures.—Miserable infatuation! (it is justly added) to set the stripling on a sea, of which he knows neither the soundings nor the shore; and calmly to see him rush to every point of the compass, before he knows the bearings of any!"

But this Academy, which was "in a state so peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth," was distinguished by other circumstances enumerated by Dr. Priestley, which were perhaps not less favourable to that end, than those which have been already named. "There was no provision for teaching the learned languages. We had even no compositions, or orations, in Latin. Our course of lectures was also defective, in containing no lectures on the Scriptures or on ecclesiastical history; and by the students in general (and Mr. Alexander and myself were no exceptions), commentators in general, and ecclesiastical history also, were *held in contempt.*"—(*Memoirs of Dr. Priestley*, p. 21.)—Thus, all the prejudices of ancient learning, which might have acted as so many clogs upon the youthful genius, were completely removed; and nothing hindered the boy of the academy from fancying himself at once arrived at that goal,

Mr. Belsham affirms, that "Mr. Wilberforce and others who agree with him seldom regard their system in a comprehensive view, or pursue their principles to their just and necessary consequences*:" and he adds, that "it is from the absurd and injurious consequences which necessarily result from Mr. W.'s principles, that he infers their falsehood and impiety."† No words can more aptly convey my ideas of Mr. B.'s scheme, than those with which he has here supplied me: for, strange as this gentleman and those who think with him may affect to consider the charge, they by no means follow up their principles to their just and necessary consequences; nor, whilst they boast in a loud and exulting tone of their dauntless pursuit after truth, have they always the courage to be consistent throughout, and to advance boldly in the face of those conclusions, which to any intelligent and unprejudiced mind could not fail to evince "the falsehood and impiety" of the system. But Mr. B. himself has well remarked, that "the natural and necessary consequences of principles are the same, whether the advocates of such principles are apprized of them or not, and whether they do or do not choose to contemplate and avow them‡:" and fact completely proves, what reason would

---

which, in the more measured walks of science, the matured student feels many laborious efforts still requisite to attain.

* P. 10. † P. 11. ‡ Ibid.

obviously suggest, that, where the principles of this new sect have been fairly and honestly followed on to their legitimate consequences, the system of revelation, and in many cases of theism, has been entirely thrown up as a heap of mummery and priestcraft. To cite particular instances were invidious; but they are numerous, and could easily be adduced.

By what has been said it is, however, far from my intention to charge either Dr. Priestley or Mr. Belsham with a disingenuous attempt to escape from such consequences as naturally flow from the opinions which they maintain. No, I believe them both to be incapable of duplicity. But, originally educated, as both confess to have been, in the strictest tenets of that creed whose distinguishing doctrines they now reject, and having at an early age entertained a full conviction of the truth and importance of the Christian scheme, some latent influence of their first persuasion naturally remaining, they cannot now release themselves entirely from a Christian belief. Strangely as they have altered and disfigured the structure, the foundation still remains. The first impressions of the youthful mind are not easily effaced. And fortunately for these gentlemen, something of "what the nurse and priest have taught" still continues, in spite of their boast to the contrary, to retain a secret hold upon their thoughts. To have a fair experiment of the system, we must look to its effects upon those,

who have never known Christianity but in the Unitarian dress of Mr. Belsham and Dr. Priestley. Examine these, and behold its genuine fruits.

How then can we admit the truth of Mr. B.'s assertion, that the numbers of this sect daily*

* The writer of a judicious paper in a late periodical publication makes the following observations on the nature of the Unitarian or Socinian sect, and on the unlikelihood of its extension:—"Socinianism must ever from its nature be the most harmless of all heresies, the least contagious of all the varieties of human opinion. It has been called, and how aptly the history of its Hackney Academy and all its other institutions may prove, the half-way house to infidelity: but it should be remembered, that many who set out on the pilgrim's-progress of inquiry, take up their place of rest there, who, if there were no such inn upon the road, would infallibly proceed to Doubting Castle. It is a system which saves men from utter unbelief more frequently than it tempts them to it; and it never can become a popular doctrine. It appeals to the vanity of the half-learned, and the pride of the half-reasoning: but it neither interests the imagination, nor awakens the feelings, nor excites the passions, nor satisfies the wants of the human heart. Hence it must ever be confined to a few scanty congregations composed wholly of the reading class, and is equally incapable of producing either extensive good or extensive evil."—*Quarterly Review*, vol. iv. p. 485. With this writer I entirely agree in the opinion, that this jejune and cheerless heresy is not likely to be embraced by many: but that, so far as its influence does extend, it will be found productive of great evil without any countervailing good, is, I think, as evident, as that such an effect must follow from a dereliction of all the leading tenets of a Christian's belief: nor, I confess, does it appear to me a matter of much consequence, whether the traveller, of whom the Reviewer speaks, proceeds on his entire journey, or stops short at the inn which Unitarianism provides for him on the way.

increase? In one way, indeed, but in that way only, can it bear any resemblance to fact. Men, who, having rejected the Christian revelation, are yet restrained, by a regard to opinion and decorum, from openly abdicating the Christian name, may find it not inconvenient to rank themselves of a class, whose latitude of opinion can occasion but little embarrassment to that freedom for which they contend: and thus Mr. B. may possibly reckon among the residents of his "mansion," many who are content to sojourn there, on account of its commodious neighbourhood to that region, which they regard as their true and proper home.

One proof, however, Mr. B. produces of his assertion, which might not have occurred to many, and which is entitled to a more than ordinary degree of attention; namely, that "there are thousands" of those professing themselves of the Established Church, who think with him, "but are deterred by secular considerations, and the harsh spirit of the times, from avowing their real principles."* Indeed, according to the charitable notions entertained by Mr. B. in common with Dr. Priestley†, of the character of those

* P. 227.

† Mr. Belsham's liberal views of the character of the clergy of the Established Church have been already noticed in this Appendix, pp. 368, 369. Dr. Priestley's representations are of a nature equally complimentary. In his *Hist. of Cor.* vol. i. p. 147. he says of the Trinitarians of the present age, that "they are all reducible to two classes, viz. that of

who maintain the National Faith, it is not surprising, that this should appear, to minds so prepared, with all the circumstances of probability. And certainly no argument can be more convenient: from no combination of events can its force suffer any diminution, and from no ingenuity of reply can it ever meet refutation. Though the entire host of those professing the *pure* Christianity of the Unitarian were ostensibly reduced to Dr. P. and himself, yet by the application of this argument, aided by a portion of that faith, which, not having been largely expended on other subjects, Mr. B. might have to

---

those who, if they were ingenuous, would rank with Socinians, believing that there is no proper divinity in Christ besides that of the Father; or else with Tritheists, holding three equal and distinct Gods." Having thus distributed the whole body of professed Trinitarians between *Insincerity* and *Ignorance*, he afterwards, in the conclusion of the same work (vol. ii. p. 471.), narrows his attention to the clerical part of that body, pronouncing their arguments in defence of the system they support, to be "so palpably weak, that it is *barely possible* they should be in earnest:" by which it is not difficult to discover, to which of the two classes before named the Established clergy were in his opinion to be consigned.—That Dr. Priestley should, indeed, have imagined, that many, who rejected the doctrines of the Established Church, might yet be found among the ranks of its professed teachers, may well be supposed, when we recollect, that he deliberately advised Mr. Lindsey to retain his preferments in the Church, at the same time that he laboured to undermine its creed: an advice, however, which the Rector of Catterick was too honest to comply with, although it might not be unpalatable to certain clergymen of the present day; such as Mr. Fellowes and Mr. Stone.

bestow in abundance on this and similar occasions, I should not be surprised to find him solacing himself even then with the satisfactory persuasion, that the "glorious period" was fast approaching, in which "the Unitarian church" was about to "comprehend, in its ample enclosure, the whole Christianized world* :" the prejudices and interests of mankind causing but a temporary and artificial suppression of those sentiments, which must necessarily and universally prevail. This argument, then, I must admit to be wholly unanswerable.

Dr. Priestley has indeed advanced, that he "never knew a single instance of any person, who was once well grounded in Unitarian principles, becoming an unbeliever."† If the becoming an unbeliever be admitted as the proper proof of an antecedent deficiency of confirmation in Unitarian principles, the position is a safe one. But if Dr. P. means to say, that the influence of Unitarian principles is unfavourable to infidelity, it need only to be replied, that the fact speaks a language directly the reverse. For it is notorious, and it will require no small degree of hardihood to deny it, that from those who have *professed* Unitarianism in England the largest stock of unbelievers has arisen: nay more, that their principal Academy, the place in which Unitarian principles were inculcated in their

* *Review*, p. 266. † *Theol. Repos.* vol. iv. p. 24.

greatest purity, and with every advantage of zealous ability in the teacher, and of unbiassed docility in the learner, has borne witness to the efficacy of those principles, by its dissolution, imperiously demanded by the prevalence of Infidel opinions. Now in what way shall we account for this event? Was Unitarianism not properly taught at Hackney? Or, with all its vaunted simplicity, is it a scheme so difficult to conceive, that the learners, not being able to comprehend it rightly*, became unbelievers from not having been *firmly grounded?* Howsoever it be explained, the fact is incontrovertible, and seems not a little to countenance the idea, that the road to Unitarianism differs from that which leads to Infidelity by so slight a distinction, that the traveller not unfrequently mistakes his way. And surely, if, with Mr. Wilberforce, we suppose the station of the former to be placed at no great distance from the confines of the latter, it is not surprising that they, who in the morning of life begin their journey from this advanced stage, should be able to finish the entire course with ease; whilst those, who do not reach it till the evening of their days, may have some indisposition to proceed, espe-

* Indeed, Mr. B. seems to represent Unitarianism as a matter complicated, and difficult to be understood. For the total rejection of Christianity by some of his Unitarian brethren, he assigns the following reasons:—"They either did not *understand their principles;* or they were *perplexed with difficulties,* which *perhaps* patience and attention might have solved; or," &c.—*Review,* p. 265.

cially if, from early habits, they had been taught to feel a salutary horror of those regions that lie beyond.

One difficulty, amounting to paradox, which attaches to this entire system, yet remains to be noticed. It might appear to such as have been used to consider Christianity as something more than natural religion with a superadded proof of a future state of retribution, that they who hold this to be the sum of the Christian scheme must, at the same time, reject the writings of the New Testament, or at least all those parts that go beyond the mere facts, of the life and resurrection of Christ. Mr. B., however, informs us in what manner the Unitarians, whilst they retain the title of Christians by acknowledging the authority of the New Testament, yet contrive to preserve their "simple creed," unaffected by those important truths which it contains. There are two ways in which the word of Revelation and a system of religious belief may be made to square. One is, by conforming our belief to Revelation: the other, by adjusting Revelation to our belief. The latter is that chosen by Mr. B. and his Unitarian associates; and, accordingly, the New Testament, and the creed of the Unitarian, are, at the same time, without difficulty retained.

Of the mode of adjustment Mr. B. exhibits a perfect specimen. "Christ," he says, "being described in the New Testament as a man, hav-

ing appeared as a man, having called himself a man,—having had all the accidents of a man; having been born, having lived, eaten, drunk, slept, conversed, rejoiced, wept, suffered, and died, as other men," there is sufficient reason to pronounce him really such; no farther proof can be required: and the *onus probandi*, he contends, lies with them, who "maintain that he was something more than man:" and whatever texts of Scripture can be adduced in support of that opinion, he adds, "the Unitarians pledge themselves to show, that they are *all* either *interpolated, corrupted,* or *misunderstood**:" in short, they engage to get clearly rid of them in some way or other. Either the passage should have no place in Scripture; or, if it must be admitted, it should appear under some different modification; or, if the present reading must be allowed, it is wrongly interpreted by all but Unitarians; and sometimes even the subject originally misunderstood by the inspired writer himself: until, at length, the Sacred Volume is completely discharged of all that exceeds the convenient, portable creed of the Unitarian. This, it will be allowed, is, in Mr. B.'s own words, "*making* Scripture with a witness†;" and exhibits no mean specimen of my Lord Peter's ingenious device, in extracting the legitimate meaning of his father's will: the "totidem syllabis," or at all

* *Review,* pp. 270, 271, 272. † Id. p. 116.

events the "totidem literis," cannot fail to supply the deficiencies of the "totidem verbis." *

Lest, however, these ingenious modes of eliciting the sense of Scripture should be deemed too bold, Mr. B. supplies a decisive reason to prove, that the Unitarian alone is duly qualified to form a sound judgment in matters of sacred criticism. To comprehend the true import of Scripture, he informs us, "requires time, labour, patience, and candour." † How then could it be expected, that any but the aforesaid moral teachers of Christianity should rightly ascertain its meaning? That this laborious, patient, and candid expurgation of Scripture, whereby every passage intimating the divine nature of Christ is completely expunged, or new modelled so as to speak a different language, shall be stigmatized by the harsh representation, of "mangling and altering the translation to the mind" of the Unitarian, as Mr. Fuller and Mr. Wilberforce have, it seems, very uncivilly described it, only serves to recall to Mr. Belsham's "recollection the honest quaker's exclamation, O argument! O argument! the Lord rebuke thee‡:" the *argument* being, without

* Tale of a Tub, sect. ii. † *Review*, p. 272.

‡ This animated and delicate species of irony is, with Mr. Belsham, a favourite mode of treating his literary antagonists. Having, in his controversy with Mr. Carpenter, established the inconsistency of man's freedom with the divine foreknowledge, on such principles, that, as he modestly affirms, "*no proposition in Euclid admits of a more perfect demonstration*;" he suddenly recollects himself, — "But all this is metaphy-

question, all on the side of the Unitarian, whose modifications of the Gospel, exhibiting it as a

---

sical reasoning; and why should we puzzle ourselves with metaphysical subtilties?" And then in a spirit of humanity, sympathizing most tenderly with his galled and lacerated opponent, he exclaims,—"*O naughty metaphysics!* thus cruelly to impale a *worthy well-meaning gentleman*, upon the horns of a goring dilemma, and to leave him writhing and smarting there without relief.—I am sorry for my friend's unfortunate situation." (*Lett. on Arian.* p. 47.) And so he goes on grieving for the cruel discomfiture which he had himself caused to *his friend;* but which, it seems, he could not well have avoided, from the uncommon keenness of his argumentative talent, and the piercing potency of his metaphysics.—It should however be observed, to the credit of Mr. Belsham, that he has not been influenced by any unworthy fear, to withhold from the world, the knowledge of the nature and use of those all-subduing weapons, which have never failed to secure to him such easy triumphs in his controversial campaigns. The Logic and Metaphysics, whereby he has laid many a sturdy combatant low, he has fairly given to the public; and it is now the fault of those, with whom he has henceforward to contend, if they do not conceive with the same clearness, and reason with the same precision, as himself.

On the work which exhibits these, and which, dignified with the title of *Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind and of Moral Philosophy*, professes to give, within the compass of one octavo volume, a most complete view of logics, morals, and metaphysics, I have had occasion already to offer some remarks, in the preceding notes of this Appendix. Those remarks, however, as they relate, for the most part, to detached topics, rather incidental to the main object of the work than essentially connected with it, scarcely supply an adequate idea of its true value, and of the benefits which must have accrued, in point of strict reasoning and just conceptions, to the students of Hackney, and which are now held out by this publication to the world at large. I shall here adduce a few

mere revival and confirmation of natural religion, cannot fail to approve themselves to all "men of

---

specimens, which go more immediately to its general excellence as a treatise of logical and metaphysical instruction. First, in the list of *axioms* we find the following, which may prove the degree of caution with which our author proceeds.— "Axiom 4. The *agreement* of two ideas with a third, *cannot prove* their *disagreement* with each other." (p. lii.)—By this, such reasoners as are naturally led to conclude, that when two ideas agree with a third, they *must disagree* with each other, are completely guarded against falling into this vulgar error. Again, in the next page, we are apprized of a *term*, so circumstanced, as that it may become a *proposition;* namely, the major term in a Syllogism, whose major premiss is a particular affirmative. For of such a term he says, "If it be the subject, it is particularly taken *as being a particular proposition;*" and again, "If it be the predicate, it is particularly taken *as being an affirmative proposition.*" This will provide against the errors of those, who might have conceived that the term would still remain a *term*, and could never have turned into a *proposition* of any sort. Again, in the matter of *Definition*, we find much more of copiousness and versatility than can be met with in ordinary treatises of logics and metaphysics. The definitions with which the work commences, are those of *Perception*, and *Sensation*. These and their concomitants we find thus variously propounded.

1. "*Perception* is the attention, which the mind pays to a variety of impressions made upon it by external objects or by internal feelings."
2. "*Perception* is the faculty by which we acquire sensations and ideas."
3. "*Sensation* is the perception of an object by the organs of sense."
4. "*Sensation* is the faculty of acquiring certain internal feelings, by the impression of external objects upon the organs of sense."

enlightened minds;" whilst the old orthodox fancies — that "the corruption of human nature, the

5. "*A Sensation* is the impression made upon the mind by an object actually present."
6. "*Sensations* are internal feelings, excited by the impressions of external objects upon the organs of sense." See pp. vii. 10, 11. 15, 16.

Now, not only have we here a rich variety of definitions, but such as, by a due combination of their powers, is found capable of engendering more. Thus, if we combine the second and fifth, we obtain a new definition for *Perception;* namely, "the faculty by which we acquire *impressions* made upon the mind," &c.: so that *Perception* finally turns out to be its own producer, inasmuch as it seeks after and acquires those impressions, from which, we are told in the first definition, it derives its existence. Again, if we combine the first and sixth, we obtain a more extensive and detailed view of the nature of *Perception:* for since, in the latter, *Sensations* are described as a species of "*internal feelings,*" it follows, that "*Perception* is the attention which the mind pays to a variety of impressions made upon it, 1. by external objects, 2. by *Sensations*, 3. by all other internal feelings." And, lastly, since by the fifth definition, "a Sensation is an impression made upon the mind," if we join this in friendly union with the two former, we have then contained in the definition of *Perception*, "an attention to impressions made upon the mind, by impressions which *are* made upon the mind." I will follow this no farther. I do not pretend to exhaust the combinations and their results: these few perhaps may satisfy the reader.

Of our author's uncommon powers in *definition*, I shall only give one instance more: but that one cannot but be deemed sufficient, inasmuch as it will show the possibility of deciding, in an instant, the most difficult questions in metaphysics. "VOLITION is that state of mind, which is immediately *previous* to actions which are called voluntary." — "NATURAL LIBERTY, or, as it is more properly called, PHILOSOPHICAL LIBERTY, is the power of doing an action, or its

atonement of the Saviour, and the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit," are the prominent

---

contrary, *all the previous circumstances* remaining the same." (p. 227.) Now here is the point of free-will at once decided: for, *volition* itself being included among the *previous circumstances*, it is a manifest contradiction in terms, to suppose "the power of doing an action or its contrary, all the previous circumstances remaining the same;" since that supposes the power of acting *voluntarily against a volition*. After this, surely, Mr. Belsham might have spared himself the trouble of the ninety-two pages which follow, as his opponents must have been at once suffocated by the above definitions. But the philosopher was determined to give the absurd advocate for free-will no quarter; and therefore has dealt out argument after argument, blow after blow, until the adversary is no longer able to stand before him. He was not even content, until he brought the evidence of *mathematics* to his aid, to prove, *ex absurdo*, that philosophical liberty totally confounds the distinction between virtue and vice. Thus, "for example, *benevolence without liberty* is no virtue; *malignity without liberty* is no vice. Both are equally in a neutral state. *Add a portion of liberty to both;* benevolence instantly becomes an eminent virtue, and malignity an odious vice. That is, IF TO EQUALS YOU ADD EQUALS THE WHOLES WILL BE UNEQUAL; than which nothing can be more absurd!" Does the reader doubt that these words are fairly quoted? Let him turn to pp. 258, 259. of the treatise, and satisfy himself that there is in the world such a mathematician as the author of the above proof. But I have done with this work. It must by this time be clear, that in *logics*, *metaphysics*, *morals*, and *mathematics*, the students must have been well instructed at Hackney.

Having been led by the subject of this note to the mention of a combination of metaphysical and mathematical reasoning almost too ludicrous for serious observation, I cannot make better amends to the reader for such a demand upon his patience, than by directing his attention to a very small but valuable tract, entitled, *The Doctrine of Philosophical Ne-*

doctrines of the Christian Revelation,—are left to the professors of the National Faith; interested and unprincipled men, who, not believing the doctrines they uphold, "testify their regard to the Scriptures by empty professions;" or ignorant and blundering bigots, who are led by a slavish and "blind submission to vulgar interpretations."* It needs scarcely to be remarked, that,

---

cessity briefly invalidated; in which the author, *Mr. Dawson of Sedbergh*, has most happily effected that which has been here so unmeaningly caricatured: having enlisted the accuracy and brevity of mathematics (a science with which he is so well acquainted) in the cause of metaphysics: and having thereby been enabled to plant the standard of *Philosophical Liberty* on a strength, from which the advocates of the opposite doctrine have not found it convenient to attempt to dislodge him. One faint effort indeed was made by a writer in the Monthly Review for July 1781. But this was so easily repelled by the author in a second edition of his Tract, that, so far as I can learn, the attempt has not been repeated.

* For these two descriptions of characters, and for that of the Unitarians, placed in direct opposition to both, as the only "enlightened and consistent Christians," the reader may turn to what Mr. B. has said, *Review*, pp. 26—30. 196. 199. 220. 230. 233. Indeed it should be stated in justice to Mr. B., that the charges of incompetency, insincerity, and slavish adherence to popular systems, are not confined by him to the divines of the Established Church. Some not a little distinguished amongst the Dissenters, are examples of the impartiality of his strictures. Even the pious, candid, and learned Doddridge had adopted an "erroneous and unscriptural system." "His love of popularity," with other causes, had "strangely warped his judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures;" and his works are, consequently, "not calculated to instruct his readers in the true sense of the Christian Scriptures, nor to infuse into them a spirit of *rational* and

among the virtues of the new system, *modesty* seems not to occupy, any more than *charity*, a very distinguished place.

For the fulfilment of the engagement, to overturn every interpretation of Scripture that wars with the simple creed of the Unitarian, Mr. B. refers us,—for he has not thought proper to undertake the task himself,—to a list of commentators, on whose critical exertions he is willing to rest his cause. Here we find, in addition to some respectable names, and to some from whom his peculiar opinions will not receive much support, the names of "Wakefield, Evanson, Lindsey, and Priestley."* These last being the only persons now† living, of those whom he has

---

manly piety." (pp. 102, 103. 213, 214.) He had unfortunately retained some of those old-fashioned notions about *atonement* and *grace*, which have been vulgarly supposed to distinguish Christianity from natural religion. He was not, in short, a *Rational Dissenter*: for it is not from the members of the Establishment solely, but from the various other classes of dissenters, that the grand characteristic of *Rationality* divides the Unitarian.

* *Review*, p. 206.

† It is matter of melancholy reflection, that, of the above-named writers, all actively engaged in the propagation of their respective opinions when the first edition of this work was published, not one is at this day living. So rapidly do we all pass off in this fleeting scene of things!—Respecting those who no longer live to answer for themselves, I confess I feel somewhat of the force of the maxim, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*. And yet, when it is considered, that though the man dies, the author lives; that the interests of the living should not be sacrificed to a sentiment unprofitable to the dead;

enumerated as the great oracles of Gospel interpretation, to these of course he must principally refer, when he affirms, as we have seen, that "the Unitarians pledge themselves" to get rid of every passage in Scripture that militates against the principles of their system. Now, I do agree with Mr. B., that if he had traversed the entire range of all who profess to have a single shred of Christianity hanging to them, he could not have found a phalanx more admirably fitted, by the apparatus of "interpolations, omissions, false readings, mistranslations, and erroneous interpretations,"* to empty Scripture of every idea, that does not correspond with the *pure* Christianity of those who call themselves Unitarians. Paine could not well have been added to the list. *He* most *imprudently* strikes down all at once, and would brush away the

---

that, on the contrary, were the deceased himself to rise from the grave, he would probably feel it his first duty to oppose those very errors which he had before been industrious to disseminate;—there seems no good reason, why any greater delicacy should now be used in treating of the pernicious mistakes and misconceptions of such writers, than had formerly been observed; more particularly as the subject is infinitely too important for compromise. "Nec nocet veritas mortuis, et multum prodest vivis," is undoubtedly a maxim deserving some consideration. I have, then, on the entire view of the case, neither retracted nor softened any observation applying to the works of the above-named authors, unless where I have had cause to doubt the truth and justice of the observation itself.

* *Review*, p. 206.

flimsy cobwebs, of both Old and New Testament, at one stroke. But, certainly, more* resolute expungers, parers, and diversifiers of Sacred

* Dr. Geddes has travelled too slowly through the Old Testament, to entitle him, by his meritorious services in the New, to a place in the *present* list. But from the *liberal* views which the part of his translation already published, joined to his late volume of *Critical Remarks*, presents, concerning the *false representations of the Deity in the Pentateuch*, — the *cruel and sanguinary character of the God of the Hebrews*, — the *juggle of the miracles said to be wrought by Moses*, — the *incredible number of prodigies not literally to be believed*, — the *frequent interposition of the Deity and his agents, not to be admitted*, — the *absurdity of attributing inspiration to the writers of the early books of the Old Testament*, — the *error, inconsistence, and downright absurdity, to be found in the Hebrew writings, from which their inspiration cannot be credited, even on the authority of St. Paul, or though an angel from heaven were to teach it*, — the *information of the Hebrew historians derived from public registers, popular traditions, and old songs*, — from these, and other observations of a similar nature, there is offered a reasonable promise, that when this translator of the BOOKS ACCOUNTED SACRED shall have extended his researches to the New Testament, and thereby clearly made known *his* scheme of *Christianity*, he will prove himself fully entitled to have his name enrolled among the most enlightened of Mr. B.'s Unitarian commentators. When we find him thus freely concurring with Lord Bolingbroke, in pronouncing the God of *Moses* to be " partial, unjust, and cruel, delighting in blood, commanding assassinations, massacres, and even exterminations of people," can we doubt, that he will agree with his Lordship, and other *philosophic* inquirers, in viewing the God of *Paul* in a light equally unworthy of our religious adoration? —— *Bolingbroke's Works*, vol. v. p. 567.—4to. 1754.

The earthly career of Dr. Geddes has been closed since the above was written: nor did he live long enough to carry his mischievous perversions of Scripture beyond the limit of the Pentateuch and the historical books.

Writ, he could not have discovered in the whole tribe of polemics. Of their powers in this way some few specimens have been exhibited, in the foregoing *Dissertations;* and, from the notable exertions of master-criticism, which have been there occasionally noticed, little doubt can be entertained of the sufficiency of these writers to fulfil the engagement entered into on their behalf by Mr. Belsham.

Our author himself, indeed, has favoured us with but few displays of his critical ingenuity. Those few, however, prove him by no means unworthy of the cause which he supports. The two passages, which expressly ascribe the office of *intercession* to Christ, are, (Rom. viii. 34.) *He is now at the right hand of God, making intercession for us;* and, (Hebr. vii. 25.) *He ever liveth to make intercession for us.* Now, as Mr. B. cannot allow to Christ the office of intercessor, he begins with remarking, that "the exact import of the phrase is difficult to be ascertained" in these passages: and for this he assigns a reason, which cannot be denied to be sufficient, that "probably *the writers themselves annexed to it no very distinct idea.*"* St. Paul, it is clear, was no *Rational* Christian; or he would not have used words so inaccurately and unphilosophically; for, besides the aforesaid vagueness of expression, it is certain, that "God *has no right hand at which Jesus can stand,* to intercede!"†

* *Review*, pp. 69, 70. † *Review*, p. 70.

By this philosophical discovery, the authority of St. Paul is completely and at once set aside. His words, it is shown, admit no precise meaning. That, however, which St. Paul *ought* to have said, Mr. B. informs us: viz. "that Jesus, having been advanced to great dignity and felicity, is, by the appointment of God, continually employing his renovated and improved powers, in some unknown way, for the benefit of his church." We are told, that "we may *imagine* what we please, but that more than this is not revealed;" of which it unfortunately happens, that not one word is revealed — except by Mr. Belsham St. Paul having simply said, that Christ *is now at the right hand of God, making intercession for us.* —God, however, has *no right hand;* and *interceding* does not mean, *interceding.**

* Mr. Belsham's remark on the force of the original word, rendered by us, *making intercession*, deserves to be noticed. "The word," he says, "expresses any interference of one person *for* or *against* another." Now, from this it follows, that if Christ be not supposed to interfere *for us*, he must be employed in exercising his powers *against us*. Does Mr. B. prefer this to the received sense? It appears, however, that he has borrowed his view of this passage from Dr. Taylor's note on Rom. viii. 27., as he refers us to that for full satisfaction. Such then is the joint light of Dr. Taylor and Mr. Belsham. But it seems necessary to remind Mr. B. of the difference between ἐντυγχάνειν κάτα, and ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπέρ. I must therefore take the liberty of referring him to his Lexicon. Or, if he *will* look to Commentators, perhaps were he to consult Locke and Pierce,—two of those very commentators whom he himself has named, but seems to have *named only* as giving a grace and character to his list, whilst

With a few other criticisms of the like nature Mr. Belsham has enriched his work. He has,

---

they certainly deserved to have been placed in better company, — he would find their interpretation decidedly in favour of that, which no scholar can question to be the sense of the original, *interceding*. As the authority of a *German* commentator is likely also to have considerable weight with Mr. B., I would recommend it to him to attend to Rosenmüller's distinction, (Rom. xi. 2.) — "Ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπέρ τινος, est *negotium alicujus commendare, intercedere pro aliquo; ἐντυγχάνειν κατά τινος*, est *aliquem accusare:*" so says Schleusner likewise (who deserves to be particularly consulted on the word ἐντυγχάνω), and so say all the Lexicons. Mr. B., however, says otherwise. "Time, labour, patience, and candour," have, no doubt, convinced him that they are wrong.

As Mr. B. has referred to Dr. Taylor, for the true and adequate sense of the original word in these passages, it is but fair to state that writer's observations on the force of the term as applied in Rom. viii. 27. "The Spirit of God *makes intercession for the saints,* not by making application to God on their behalf, but by directing and qualifying *their* supplications in a proper manner, by his *agency and influences upon their hearts; which, according to the Gospel scheme, is the peculiar work and office of the* HOLY SPIRIT." What then? Is Dr. Taylor, *he* who has so "well explained the Jewish phrases in his *admirable Key*," — is *he*, after all, but one of those "popular interpreters," who, in opposition to the "Rational Christian," contend for the idle notion of the *existence* and *influence* of the *Holy Spirit?* And does *he*, to whom Mr. B. refers, for a full explanation of the original phrase commonly rendered in the sense of *making intercession for us*, expound the words ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ, when applied to the Holy Spirit, as signifying that benevolent interference, whereby our supplications are rendered more acceptable and effectual with our Almighty Father? The same words, it is clear, cannot be instantly purged of this meaning, when they are applied by the same writer, in a few lines after, to the case of our blessed Lord: so that I fear much, that, when Mr. B.

however, not adventured far into the field of controversy. He has trusted rather to abstract rea-

---

comes to reconsider this matter, he will be obliged to repudiate his boasted auxiliary, Dr. Taylor, as *little better* than *orthodox*.

What had been thus given, in the former editions of this work, as matter of speculation, has now become matter of fact: Mr. Belsham, in his latter views of this subject, has carefully omitted the mention of Dr. Taylor. He finds it much safer to place his reliance on Mr. Lindsey; an authority which is not likely to fail him in any Unitarian perversion of the sense of Scripture. And, with his assistance, having first explained the word ἐντυγχάνω, as expressing any kind of interference whatever, he arrives at this conclusion, that what is called the *intercession* of Christ implies the "operation and effect of his mission and doctrine in the world." (*Calm Inquiry*, &c. p. 327.) In like manner the Unitarian Version, to which he refers, and in which probably he but quotes himself. For an admirable exposure of the absurdity of the interpretation thus given by Mr. Belsham and his Unitarian Version, I refer the reader to *Dr. Nares's Remarks*, p. 140—144. I shall only add, for the purpose of showing how miserably unfit the Editors of this Version are for the work which they have undertaken, that in their note on this word in Rom. viii. 34., whilst they profess to give the interpretation of it by *Schleusner*, (an authority to which I had formerly taken the liberty of referring Mr. Belsham), they garble and actually falsify his application of the term; and again, that in their note on the same word in Hebr. vii. 26., they repeat the identical error of reference into which Schleusner had fallen, quoting Acts xxvii. 24., instead of Acts xxv. 24.: and this too, whilst they are engaged in enumerating the precise parts of the New Testament in which the word is to be found, and would have us believe that they have consulted those very passages for its meaning: thus evincing, at the same time, their servile adherence to any authority on which they may choose to rely, and their negligent rashness united with

soning, upon what he calls philosophical principles; and whilst he has confined himself to the stringing together of a number of rapid conclusions from plausible premisses, or to what is vulgarly styled* declamation, he has left it to the

---

affected research in matters relating to the accuracy of the sacred text.

* One of the finest possible specimens of the species of *criticism* that goes by this name, is to be found in another publication of Mr. *Belsham's*, which I have already noticed, entitled *Letters on Arianism.* At p. 129. of that work, he attacks the absurdity of deducing from the language used throughout the New Testament respecting the *creation of all things by Jesus Christ,* the strange conclusion, that by him a creation was literally effected. He admits, indeed, that in Ephesians iii. 9. it is said, that "God created all things by Jesus Christ:"—that in Heb. i. 2. it is said, "by whom also he made the worlds:"—and again in Colossians i. 15, 16. "Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature: for by him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by him, and for him: and he is before all things, and by him all things consist." But after launching against these, the usual Socinian refutations,—that *creating* does not mean *creating,* and that *worlds* are *dispensations,* &c. &c.—he proceeds, by a still happier flight, to show that the same language is as applicable to *Bonaparte* as to *Jesus Christ.* I give his words.—"Of a certain person, who now makes a very considerable figure in the world, it may be said with truth, so far as the civil state of the continent of Europe is concerned, that he is the creator of all these new distinctions, high and low, whether thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all these things are made by him, and for him, and he is before them all, takes precedence both in time and dignity, and by him do all these things consist. Yet who would infer from such language as

more critical advocates of Unitarianism to *prove*, that the words of Scripture bear that meaning which he every where *assumes*. Indeed, this work, the professed object of which is to try the doctrines of the Gospel by the standard of Scripture, no less than by that of reason, is so miserably deficient in the point of critical inquiry, that its avowed admirers, the Analytical Reviewers, feel it necessary to admit, whilst they endeavour to vindicate, this defect. — "We have said, this is a popular work. The reader must not look into it for verbal criticism, or the citation of ancient authority." But they add, in excuse, "the work to which it is a reply, was altogether declamation."* And if so, it has undoubtedly been answered in its own way.

I have now done with Mr. Belsham; nor should I have directed the attention of the reader so much to this gentleman's performance, had I known any† other work, than the *Review of Mr.*

---

this, that the present ruler of France is a being of superior order to mankind, much less that he is the maker of the world? *The language which is true of Bonaparte, in a civil sense, is applicable to Jesus Christ in a moral view; but it no more implies pre-existence, or proper creative power, in one case than in the other.*"! — This comment of Mr. Belsham requires no comment from me.

* *Review for March*, 1798.

† That part of the Unitarian creed, which relates to the person and character of our Lord, has received some additional touches from the hand of Mr. Belsham, in a work recently published; which he entitles, *A Calm Inquiry into the Scripture Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ;* and

Wilberforce's Treatise, in which the entire system and bearings of the doctrines called *Unitarian*

---

in which he professes to give a formal digest of the recognised opinions of the Unitarians upon this subject in the year 1811. Of this digest I select the few passages which follow. — "The Unitarian doctrine is, that Jesus of Nazareth was a man constituted in all respects like other men, subject to the same infirmities, the same ignorance, prejudices, and frailties," —"that he was born in low circumstances, having no peculiar advantages of education, or learning," &c. — "The Unitarians maintain, that Jesus and his Apostles were supernaturally instructed as far as was necessary for the execution of their commission, that is, for the revelation and proof of the doctrine of eternal life, and that the favour of God extended to the Gentiles equally with the Jews; and that Jesus, and his Apostles, and others of the primitive believers, were occasionally inspired to foretell future events. But they believe that supernatural inspiration was limited to these cases alone: and that when Jesus or his Apostles deliver opinions upon subjects unconnected with the object of their mission, such opinions, and their reasonings upon them, are to be received with the same attention and caution with those of other persons in similar circumstances, of similar education, and with similar habits of thinking." (pp. 447. 451.) Here then is an improved view of the case: a manifest progress in the Unitarian system. The supernatural instruction vouchsafed to our Lord was strictly limited to the object of his mission: this object was, exclusively, to make known the doctrine of eternal life, and the admission of the Gentiles to divine favour equally with the Jews: in all matters not connected with this object, the opinions and reasonings of our Lord are to be esteemed of no greater value than those of any person of similar circumstances and education, he being subject to the same ignorance and prejudices to which the common nature of man is subject: and as he was of low circumstances and had no peculiar advantages of education or learning, of course it follows, upon the whole, that the opinions and reasonings of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ are

are exhibited with equal brevity, distinctness, and candour. To Mr. B. is certainly due the praise

---

(except when they relate to the doctrine of a future life and universal retribution) to be treated with as little respect, as those of any person of low origin and circumstances who had received as few advantages of learning or education. I have not carried on the argument as regarding the Apostles, for Mr. Belsham and his associates have long ago disposed of the Epistles. But how much of the Gospels must now follow them as waste paper?—Yet farther, it is not merely the *ignorance and prejudices*, to which our Lord was *as subject as other men*, that we have to guard against in his opinions and reasonings on all topics, save the one above excepted; but we have also to secure ourselves against the consequences of those *infirmities and frailties* of all descriptions which are incident to human nature, and to which our Lord was not less liable than other human beings. Thus, according to Mr. Belsham, the moral as well as the intellectual imperfections, which render the opinions and reasonings of men, and more particularly of men who have had no peculiar advantages of education or learning, liable to error and exception, alike affect the opinions and reasonings of our blessed Lord; save only on that one subject, to which, Mr. Belsham informs us, his commission was rigidly restricted. As Mr. Belsham's language seems here to cast a reflection on the moral character of our Lord, it is but justice to Mr. B. to state what he has expressly said upon that point. "The moral character of Christ, through the whole course of his *public ministry*, as recorded by the Evangelists, is pure and unimpeachable in every particular. Whether this perfection of character in *public* life, combined with the general declaration of his freedom from sin, establish, or were intended to establish, the fact, that Jesus, through the whole course of his *private* life, was completely exempt from all the errors and failings of human nature, is a question of no great intrinsic moment, and concerning which we have no sufficient data to lead to a satisfactory conclusion." (p. 190.) Here Mr. Belsham admits, that we have no actual proof of any sinful acts committed by

of an honest and open avowal of his sentiments. And, in his work, as I doubt not in his life, are exhibited strong traits of talent, combined with amiable and virtuous feeling. The same freedom with which he has treated others, and with which, were he to offer any animadversions on these volumes*, his pen would be directed to-

---

our Lord in his private life, so that we cannot positively and satisfactorily pronounce any thing upon that head. But it must be observed, that this admission has been made after the recital of certain declarations of Scripture, that "he knew no sin;" that he was "holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners;" that he "did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth;" and others of the same import: —although, as these declarations do not relate to the object of Christ's mission as stated by Mr. Belsham, it is difficult to discover to what credit they are entitled upon the principle which he has laid down. In a distant part of his work, however, in which he was sufficiently removed from the influence of the above testimonies, and when he prepares himself to sum up resolutely the articles of the Unitarian creed, he rises above the weakness into which he had here allowed himself to fall; and (as we have seen in the two preceding pages) affirms of that great Being, who came to redeem the world from sin, that he was subject to the common infirmities and frailties of human nature. It will not now appear surprising, that Mr. Belsham and his Unitarian associates are so extremely anxious to establish the apocryphal Gospel of the Nazarenes to be the true original Gospel of St. Matthew: for that Gospel, as *Jerem. Jones* (a favourite with the Unitarians) has shown, in his *Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament*, vol. i. p. 376. has left us reason to believe, that "*Christ was a sinner, or at least that it is doubtful whether he was so or not.*"!

* It is now more than fourteen years since the first publication of this work: and, during that time, neither Mr.

wards me, I have not scrupled to use with him. If I have misrepresented him, it certainly has not been my intention. His language, I confess, has offended me by its arrogance: and perhaps the feeling which that would naturally excite may have dictated a mode of reply, not always sufficiently respectful. If any thing like asperity or sarcasm has escaped me, I wish it to be considered as applied to the cause, and to the manner of supporting it, rather than to the writer himself. His opinions, as undermining the best interests of human kind; and his style, like that of all the writers of the same side of the question, as tending to overbear by an imposing confidence

---

Belsham nor any of his learned Unitarian fellow-labourers have, so far as I know, favoured the public with any observations upon the arguments which it contains. Dr. Priestley, if I recollect rightly, about the year 1790, stated in one of the public prints, that, his *History of Early Opinions* having remained a long time unanswered, if the same silence should be observed during a limited period which he specified, he would consider it as an acknowledgment on the part of the whole Christian world that it was unanswerable. 'In this I will not presume to follow Dr. Priestley's example. 'It had better become Dr. Priestley to suppose, that his work had not received an answer, because it was not deemed of sufficient moment to demand one. It must surely become me to suppose the same of mine. At the same time, I cannot but rejoice, that its reception and circulation have been such as to give good reason to believe, that there is no small portion of the community to whom it appears to contain useful matter: and I shall certainly feel most sincere satisfaction, if it be allowed to continue to work its silent way without the noise and the exasperation of controversy.

of tone, and a familiar and frontless assumption of superiority, can scarcely be received without indignation*, or met without warmth. I do not

* I cannot allow myself to employ the term which Mr. B. does not scruple to combine with this, on much slighter provocation, — "*contempt.*" (*Review*, p. 64.) And yet, — to pass from Mr. Belsham to the entire class of his fellow-labourers, and to speak, not of the individual, but of the cause at large, and of its champions, — what can be more fitly calculated to excite even the feeling which that term expresses, than the impotent and arrogant attempts of a few loquacious sciolists, directed against the sublime and solid truths of Revelation? *Bishop Watson*, whose tolerant moderation is the subject of general praise, is forced to exclaim, that "it cannot but move one's indignation, to see a smattering in philosophy urged as an argument against the veracity of an Apostle." (*Two Apologies*, &c. p. 359.) — What shall be said, when the same sort of smattering is employed to overturn the whole edifice of Christianity, to subvert the sanctioned wisdom of ages, and to overwhelm in one shapeless ruin the joint structure of learning and inspiration? — The *Dean of Winchester*, who is so justly distinguished for the brilliancy of his talents, the richness of his acquirements, and the eloquence and vigour of his style, has described the modern Socinianism, as "consisting of a train of whimsical paradoxes, the mere abortions of the mind! strange without originality, dull without sobriety, flippant without wit, and contagious without allurement." (*Discourses on various Subjects*, p. 145.) — A feature equally appropriate, and more offensive, because more insulting and more mischievous, remains to be added to the picture; namely, an imposing affectation of superior knowledge, without possessing any of its attainments. That grandest of all mischiefs, which an admired ancient has described as, Ἀμαθία τις μάλα χαλεπὴ, δοκοῦσα εἶναι μεγίστη Φρόνησις, eminently belongs to the race of modern Socinians, or Unitarians as they choose to call themselves, and requires of course only to be unmasked in order to be put down. To this, I confess, my efforts (throughout this Appendix especially) have been particularly directed:

pretend to have been free from the impression of these feelings. I trust, however, I have not permitted them to carry me beyond the due limits.

---

and so anxious have I been to effect this point, which in such a case I conceive to be vital, that I have not hesitated to expose myself to those imputations, which are generally cast upon the liberality and the politeness of the writer, who scruples not to press home-truths in a direct manner, without fear, and without compromise. If I have had the good fortune to accomplish this object, I am satisfied to submit to whatever consequences may follow.

I am not, indeed, without the apprehension, that I may appear to assume somewhat too much in the application of the following passage from Bishop Warburton; and yet it approaches so nearly to the state of my own feelings, in winding up this Appendix, that I cannot avoid transcribing it. In speaking of the particular manner in which he had thought it right to treat the pernicious sophistries which were opposed to the fundamental truths of Christianity, that glowing and powerful writer thus expresses himself.—"He knows what the *gentle* reader thinks of it. But he is not one of those opposers of Infidelity, who can reason without earnestness, and confute without warmth. He leaves it to others, to the soft Divine, and courtly Controversialist, to combat the most flagitious tenets with serenity; or maintain the most awful of religious truths in a way, that misleads the unwary reader into an opinion of their making but little impression on the writer's own heart. For himself, he freely owns, he is apt to kindle as he writes; and would even blush to repel an insult on sense and virtue with less vigour than every honest man is expected to show in his own cause."—*Remarks on Hume's Essay*, &c. p. 12.

Such observations as have been added to the Appendix, since the appearance of the first Edition of this work, it has been thought right to introduce in the form of Notes, so as to leave the text (as it originally stood) unaltered.

My object has been truth: and my wish, not unnecessarily to hurt the feelings of Mr. B. or of those who, with him, assume the title of *Unitarians*. If, to the body of that denomination at large, I have attributed sentiments and opinions which they do not recognise as justly imputable, it is to Mr. Belsham, not to me, they are to ascribe the error. My representation of their peculiar tenets has been chiefly derived from the work which he has given to the public with the express purpose of promulging, and vindicating, the creed of the *Unitarians*, or *Rational Christians*. If he has not been a faithful interpreter of their opinions, it is for them to correct the mistake. Hitherto that publication has been circulated, as the *Unitarian Manual*; and, whatever reception it may have experienced from others, has certainly *seemed* to obtain among that description of Christians no small portion of applause.

REMARKS

ON

THE UNITARIAN VERSION

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

MR. BELSHAM'S engagement on behalf of the Unitarian critics, to which allusion has been made at pp. 401. 404. of this volume, has in fact been fulfilled by the Version of the New Testament which has lately issued from the press; and which, as appears by a note on the beginning of the first Epistle of St. John, has been founded principally upon the labours of those able expositors and associates of Mr. Belsham, to whom we have been there referred. I hold myself therefore now bound, in point of justice, to retract (so far at least as the New Testament is concerned) what I had ventured to pronounce, in pp. 174, 175. of Vol. I., concerning the unlikelihood of any Unitarian version of the Scripture being given to the public. It must however be confessed, that, by what has been done, these Unitarian expositors have not much abridged the

liberty for which they so strenuously contend. Their version is of that convenient latitude, that a person may, at the same time, admit its authority, and yet disbelieve almost every doctrine, and every important truth, of the Christian Revelation.

The Editors of this work have not, it must be observed, conducted themselves in the publication of it with that manly boldness, which they are at all times so ambitious to put forward as their distinguishing characteristic. They have, on the contrary, not scrupled to adopt one of those *pious frauds*, which they are pleased to consider the ordinary expedients of their orthodox opponents. The name of a Bishop of the Established Church was calculated to lull suspicion, and to contribute to a more extended circulation; and, accordingly, this *Improved Version*, which they have now sent abroad, they profess to found *upon the basis of Archbishop Newcome's translation* of the New Testament; whilst, in truth, they adopt no part of that translation, which in any degree shackles them in point of doctrine, but abide by it in such places only as are of a nature perfectly indifferent. They have thus contrived to give a respectable name to their Unitarian blasphemies. They thus hold out deceitful colours to the unwary, and vend their poisons under a false label.

To give any adequate idea of the nature of this *Improved Version* within the limits to which

we are here necessarily confined would be impossible. The reader may easily conceive that the whole apparatus of "interpolations, omissions, false readings, mistranslations, and erroneous interpretations," on which, as we have seen, Mr. Belsham places so firm a reliance, has been fully brought to bear, and has most thoroughly performed its work, in the forging of this last great production of the Unitarian foundery. A few particulars, however, which may suffice to give some faint notion of the design and execution of the performance, I cannot but advert to.

In the Introduction of the work (p. v.) we are fairly apprized, that it has been a principal part of its design, to "divest the Sacred Volume of the technical phrases of a systematic theology." — That is, in other words, we are told, that the great object has been, so to render the New Testament, as to empty it of all such expressions, as might give support to any of the received and peculiar doctrines of Christianity. This appears pretty manifestly to be what is here intended: for, agreeably to this, we find that all those phrases, which in any way connect with the unscriptural notions, of the *miraculous conception*, the *pre-existence*, and *the divinity of Christ*,—the *personal existence*, *divine nature*, and *gracious influences, of the Holy Spirit*,—the *existence of evil spirits and angels, &c.* — are completely swept away; and nothing left to us, but what perfectly agrees with Mr. Belsham's idea, — that Chris-

tianity comprises a good moral system, with indeed the knowledge of this one fact, that a man has risen from the grave. — In the next place we are told, what sufficiently explains how this has been effected. It is stated, that it has not been the intention, "to exhibit a version critically correct in every minute particular;" and that "*verbal criticism* had of course not been attended to in the degree that some might wish and expect." (p. vi.) — Thus we are fairly informed, that certain liberties are to be taken in the translation, to which the minuteness of verbal criticism might possibly present some impediment. That is, in a work, whose very object is to ascertain the exact meaning of words, the exact meaning of words is not to be attended to, lest it might embarrass the freedom of translation, and force upon the translator a sense different from that which he chooses to assign. Of what nature are those freedoms in translation, which have grown out of the facilities, and are adapted to the objects, which the Editors have here planned for themselves, I shall now give two or three slight specimens.

The first which I shall mention relates to the doctrine of the *Incarnation*, which is at once thrown off, by rejecting from the beginning of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, the whole of what belongs to the miraculous birth of our Lord. This has been done, it must be allowed, with sufficient boldness; for it is fairly

admitted, that these portions of the Gospels "are to be found in all the MSS. and versions now extant."—Now it is actually amusing to observe, what is the leading evidence, by which the Editors conceive themselves justified, thus to expunge from the canon of Scripture, what has come supported by the testimony of *all* the Manuscripts and *all* the versions. With respect to the passage in Matthew, they tell us, that the *Ebionites* did not read the two first chapters in their copy of his Gospel; and with respect to St. Luke, they tell us, that *Marcion*, a heretic of the 2d century, did not admit the two first chapters of his. Therefore, it follows, that since the sect of the *Ebionites*, and the heretic *Marcion* of the 2d century, are against all the Manuscripts and all the Versions, it is impossible that these last can be received as true. The argument is certainly quite intelligible. But let us inquire a little about these irrefragable witnesses.

And, first, as to these *Ebionites*, we are informed, that their Canon of the New Testament rejected the three last Gospels, and all the Epistles of St. Paul. And, next, as to this *Marcion*, we find, that he rejected the Old Testament, and every part of the New which contained quotations from the Old, and that he used no Gospel but that of St. Luke, expunging from this also whatever he did not approve: and we are told these things too, upon the very authority, on which the Editors build, respecting the omis-

sions from St. Matthew and St. Luke. — Why then have not these admirers of *Marcion* and the *Ebionites* received the testimony of such unimpeached witnesses throughout? Why have they not, on the authority of the latter, rejected all the New Testament except St. Matthew; or, on the authority of the former, rejected the entire of the Old Testament, and all the New excepting a part of St. Luke and some of the Epistles: or, on the authority of both together, why have they not rejected the whole Bible, both Old and New Testament? — But it seems, that these witnesses are to be brought up and turned down at pleasure: they are both good and bad, according as may serve the present purpose. For, not only do we find, that they are not believed, by the party producing them, in any part of their testimony except that which relates to the beginnings of the two Gospels; but we find that, even in these, they are believed only so far as is convenient: our Editors themselves admitting, that the *Ebionites* had mutilated the Gospel of St. Matthew, by *taking away* the *genealogy;* that is, by taking away the first 16 verses of the first chapter. And therefore respecting these first 16 verses, the Editors reject the testimony of the *Ebionites* as being convicted of a mutilation of the Gospel; but as to the remaining verses of the first chapter and the whole of the second, they hold the testimony of these same *Ebionites* to be good against all gainsayers, against all

Manuscripts, and against all Versions. — All this is put forward honestly and without any attempt at disguise. The Ebionite witnesses pronounced, on one side of a leaf, as not credible, from their acknowledged mutilation of the sacred text; and upon the other side of the same leaf, maintained to be witnesses of such repute, as ought to be relied upon, in opposition to all the MSS. and all the Versions of the New Testament in the whole world.

But that we may form a better judgment of the value of this Ebionite testimony according to the showing of its Unitarian abettors, let us attend to a few more particulars on this head. The gospel of the Ebionites began, it is said, with these words, *It came to pass* IN THE DAYS OF HEROD KING OF JUDEA, *that* JOHN CAME BAPTIZING *with the baptism of repentance in the river Jordan.* This the Editors distinctly state, in their third note, from the authority of Epiphanius; whilst in the very note which precedes they reject the text of St. Matthew, expressly because it places the birth of Christ before the death of Herod; which event they contend, from Luke iii. 23., must have taken place two years at least before Christ was born. Thus, the gospel ascribed to Matthew is spurious, because it fixes the birth of Christ before the death of Herod; and yet the gospel of the Ebionites, which fixes it not less than thirty years before that event (inasmuch as it represents Herod to be alive at

the commencement of the Baptist's ministry), is notwithstanding to be relied on as a genuine and indisputable document.

Yet farther,—for the Editors seem ambitious to make an overpowering display of the riches of their criticism on the first opening of their work,—they inform us, from Epiphanius, that Cerinthus and Carpocrates argued, from *the genealogy at the beginning of the Gospel*, that Christ was the son of Joseph and Mary; whilst, at the same time, they acquaint us, that the gospel which was used by Cerinthus and Carpocrates was *the gospel of the Ebionites*, to which they admit no genealogy was prefixed, or from which (to use their own and Epiphanius's words) *the genealogy was taken away*. This, it will be confessed, is making a tolerably large demand upon the complaisance of the reader; yet there remains still more occasion for his courtesy, if he will travel on amicably with the Editors even through the first two pages of their translation.

The *genealogy* appears, upon the first view, to be a difficulty in their way, which they have themselves unnecessarily created. The Ebionites they have produced, as their favourite witnesses, to ascertain what was the true and original gospel of St. Matthew. But the Ebionites omit the entire of the first two chapters of that Gospel. Why then injure their evidence by contending for the *genealogy*, which they reject? The reason is plainly assigned. The genealogy,

as it stands, may answer the purpose of proving that Jesus was the offspring of Joseph and Mary; and, accordingly, the Editors apprize us, that Cerinthus and Carpocrates applied it to this use, and hence deduced the mere humanity of Christ. They proceed also to show the reasonableness of admitting the genealogy to be genuine, on the ground, that "it can hardly be supposed, that an author writing for the instruction of Hebrew Christians would have omitted to trace the descent of Christ from Abraham and David, upon which they justly laid so great a stress." They then proceed to evince the like reasonableness of discarding all that follows the genealogy to the end of the second chapter. "This" (they say) "COULD NOT *have been written by the author of the genealogy, for it* CONTRADICTS HIS DESIGN, which was to prove that Jesus, being the son of Joseph, was the descendant of Abraham and David; whereas the design of this narrative is to show that Joseph, the reputed father of Jesus, was not his real father. This account, therefore, of the miraculous conception of Jesus Christ must have been wanting in the copies of Cerinthus and Carpocrates, as well as in those of the Ebionites: and *if the genealogy be genuine, this narrative* MUST BE *spurious.*"

Thus, then, the whole matter is completely arranged. The genealogy must be genuine, as marking the human descent of Christ from Abraham and David; a thing expected by the Jews; and by all who received *it* as genuine, the nar-

rative of the miraculous conception, as contradicting its design, must be rejected as spurious. At the same time, lest we should imagine that the force of this reasoning might have operated so powerfully upon those Hebrew Christians who received the genealogy and maintained the proper humanity of Christ as to induce them to *take away* the narrative which so directly contradicted the genealogy, in like manner as it is admitted that others of them had *taken away* the genealogy itself, the Editors take care, in the very next note, to assure us, that to that description of Christians "the account of the miraculous conception could not have been in any degree unacceptable:" "*nor would it*" (they add) "*at all have militated against the doctrine of the proper humanity of Christ;* it being a fact analogous to the miraculous birth of Isaac, Samuel, and other eminent persons of the Hebrew nation." Thus it appears that the history of the miraculous conception is itself something miraculous; for it at the same time *contradicts*, and yet *does not at all militate against*, the idea of Christ's human descent.

Now, perhaps, it may be doing no more than justice to these erudite and luminous commentators, to bring together into one point of view the scattered lights which have been here distinctly noticed; but which cannot fail, from their combined brilliancy, to shed a brighter glory upon the work which they are designed to illustrate.—1. The Ebionites and Marcion have

omitted, in their respective copies of certain portions of Scripture, passages which are undoubtedly parts of the genuine sacred text; and the former (it is confessed) have actually *taken away* the genealogy from St. Matthew's Gospel: the proof, therefore, arising from their omission of whatever relates to the miraculous conception of Christ, must be received as decisive against that fact, although it is admitted that the narratives of it, as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, come attested by every manuscript and every version now extant, without exception.—2. The Gospel of St. Matthew, as it is conveyed to us at this day by all the MSS. and all the versions, cannot be genuine, because it requires us to believe that our Lord was born before the death of Herod; but we may admit as unquestionable the Gospel of the Ebionites, which pronounces Herod to be living at the commencement of the Baptist's ministry, or about the thirtieth year after our Lord's nativity. Lastly, the narrative of the miraculous conception ascribed to Saint Matthew must have been rejected by all who received the genealogy, as contradicting the design of the genealogy, which was to establish the human descent of Christ; at the same time that it is quite clear, that the fact of the miraculous conception could not at all have militated against the doctrine of the proper humanity of Christ, nor consequently have been in any degree unacceptable to those who held that doctrine.—Such are

the new views presented at the opening of this *Improved Version*, which is to set every thing to rights in the Christian Scriptures! See pp. 1, 2, 3. 5. and also p. 121.

There are, moreover, certain chronological deductions connected with some of the foregoing observations, which I cannot avoid laying before the reader. Five pages back it has been stated, that the Editors contend that *the death of Herod must have taken place two years at least before Christ was born.* Their mode of establishing this point is deserving of some detail. It follows, they say, as a necessary consequence from the death of Herod being placed (as it is by Lardner) in the year 750, or 751, U. C. Lardner, in the part referred to by the Editors (p. 129.) had asserted, that "if Herod died in 750 U. C. he died *three years and nine months before the* VULGAR CHRISTIAN ERA; if at a certain time before mentioned in the year 751, then he died about *two years and nine months before the said era:*" and which is the truth, he professes himself unable to determine. (See *Lardner's Works*, vol. i. p. 428.) Our Editors, referring to Lardner, (twice upon the same subject, at p. 2. and at p. 129.) contend, peremptorily, that Christ "MUST HAVE BEEN BORN *at least two years and nine months, and probably three years and nine months, after the death of Herod:*" and thus, in utter disregard of all the arguments by which the Vulgar Christian Era has been disproved, or rather with an appa-

rent ignorance of the existence of any such arguments, they have at once assumed the vulgar and the true era of our Lord's nativity to be the same; and on this assumption, as in itself sufficient to invalidate the whole story of our Lord's birth as given by St. Matthew, they build the rejection of that story as an utter fabrication. They profess at the same time to ground their reasoning on the authority of *Lardner;* whose main object has been to establish the direct reverse of their position, — that Christ "must have been born two years at least after the death of Herod;" — inasmuch as, with great learning and sound argument, he has laboured to demonstrate the consistency of St. Luke's declaration respecting the age of Christ in the 15th of Tiberius, with the narrative of St. Matthew, which places the birth of Christ about two years before the death of Herod. (*Lardner's Works*, vol. i. p. 339—382.) That learned writer, however, in his *Appendix concerning the time of Herod's death*, has, unfortunately for our Editors, in the passage above referred to, spoken of the *Vulgar Christian Era* as posterior to the death of Herod: and they, substituting for the *Vulgar Christian Era* the *time of Christ's nativity*, have at once inferred the priority of Herod's death to the birth of Christ, and have adduced the authority of Lardner's name in behalf of a position which Lardner has most triumphantly overthrown.

A similar instance of careful reference to au-

thorities, and of minute attention to the accuracies of Ecclesiastical History, is presented to us in the very front of this elaborate performance, which I cannot avoid adverting to in this place. The Editors, whilst dealing out in their *Introduction* large portions of that knowledge of manuscripts and the various critical apparatus for the translation of the New Testament, which Wetstein, Michaelis, Griesbach, and others, had already amply supplied, take occasion to speak of *Ephrem the Syrian*, as "a writer of SOME NOTE in the SIXTH century." (P. xiv.) In this at least they have thought and spoken for themselves: the commonly received opinion having hitherto been, that Ephrem flourished about the *middle of the* FOURTH *century*. From *Asseman* we learn, that he was present at the council of Nice, in the year 325: and we are told by *Jerome*, that he died in the time of the Emperor Valens, that is, at some time before the year 379. We are also informed by the early authorities, that this same Ephrem, who is here so slightly glanced at as "*a writer of some note*," was a person of the most distinguished celebrity; a man, of whom Jerome says, "ad tantam venit claritudinem, ut post lectionem Scripturarum publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus scripta recitentur:" who is described by *Ebedjesu*, a learned Syrian of the 13th century, "Ephræm magnus, qui appellatus est Syrorum propheta;" who was even entitled by the Syrians, "the doctor of the whole world;" and

who, in truth, with the consent of all who have hitherto made mention of him, has been estimated as one of the most illustrious divines and writers in the century in which he lived, that is, as we have seen, in the *fourth century*. The Editors of the *Improved Version*, however, acquaint us, that he was "*a writer of some note in the sixth century*." It is the less pardonable, I may add, in these Editors, to have been thus inattentive in the case of Ephrem; as he is reported (*Lardner*, vol. ii. pp. 419, 420.) to have written a commentary upon the *Harmony* of *Tatian*, a writer, whom the Unitarians have been at all times anxious (though most unfoundedly indeed) to claim as an auxiliary to their cause. (See *Williams's Free Inquiry*, p. 60—66.)

I need not, I think, go much farther upon this subject. — I shall however touch briefly upon two or three points more. The beginnings of the Gospels (at least of three of them) have always been found sadly troublesome to Unitarians. Matthew and Luke, however, have now been forced to part with theirs. This could not be so easily effected with regard to St. John. We have no *Ebionite* or *Marcion* appropriate to his use. But we have what answers just as well, a Unitarian expositor.—For example. "The WORD was in the beginning, and the WORD was with GOD, and the WORD was A GOD." The WORD then is found, not to be GOD, but only A GOD. But again, lest, as being A GOD, it might still by

possibility be supposed, that the formation of the world has been ascribed to this WORD in the verse which follows, we are told that "all things were DONE by him; and without him was not any thing DONE, that was DONE. That is, says the note, "all things in the Christian dispensation were done by Christ; i. e. by his authority, — the word γίνομαι never signifying to create." — Well; but then we come to the 10th verse, in which we find the words, Ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. This, to common readers, would indicate, that the *world was created* by this WORD. But as we have seen above, that πάντα ἐγένοντο must be rendered, "all things were DONE by him;" of course it must follow here, that "*the world* was DONE by him:" let these words mean what they may. No such thing, after all. Our expositor tells us, that the only true rendering is, "the world was *enlightened* by him." And thus the whole matter of the Divinity of Christ, and his creation of the world, are cleared away from the introduction of St. John's Gospel. For it must be observed, that, in the opening clause (*In the Beginning was the Word*), nothing indicative of Christ's *pre-existence* is contained; inasmuch as the *beginning* here means simply (we are told) "the commencement of the Gospel dispensation, or of the ministry of Christ." The whole, then, as duly explained by these critics, stands thus: *Christ* (for so they admit THE WORD is to be understood) *was from the commencement of the ministry of Christ; and*

Christ withdrew to commune with God, and to receive instructions for his ministry; and Christ was a God. For the excellent and strictly classical reasons assigned for these improvements upon the common version, I refer to this profoundly learned work itself, pp. 199, 200. If the reader should not be altogether satisfied with those reasons, he will however be pleased to recollect that the Editors have given fair notice, that it was not their intention to condescend to the "minuteness of verbal criticism."

I shall content myself with one specimen more of the qualifications of the Editors for the work which they have undertaken. I have given one, as an example of their accuracy, in ascertaining the genuine text of Scripture; a second as an example of their precision in reference to historical dates; a third, as an example of their attention to the minutiæ of Ecclesiastical history; a fourth, as an example of their acumen, in detecting the precise signification of the original language; and this will serve as an example of the justness of their inferences on general principles of reasoning. Acts vii. 60., we find St. Stephen addressing his prayers to Jesus Christ; — "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit;" and, — "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." On these passages, our expositors favour us with the following just distinction and salutary caution. "This address of Stephen to Jesus, when he actually saw him, does not authorize us to offer prayers to him, NOW HE IS IN-

VISIBLE :" and for farther explanation they refer to Mr. Lindsey, who states the matter thus. "Unquestionably Stephen addressed this prayer to the Lord Jesus. But this can be no precedent for directing prayer to him *unseen*, or addressing him as God, whom the blessed martyr declares he *saw with his eyes*, and calls him *the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God*; calls him the SON OF MAN, in that his highest state of exaltation."—*Apology*, &c. p. 129.—This reasoning is quite invincible, and contains in it a mine of valuable matter, which does not at first sight present itself. Jesus must, it is evident, be a *mere man*, or he could not have been seen by Stephen in bodily form, "standing on the right hand of God," nor have been called by him the Son of Man.—("Behold I see the Heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God.") He might then of course be worshipped and prayed to, whilst he was plainly *visible as a man*. But when he ceased to appear as a man, he ought no longer to be addressed in prayer. Or, perhaps, generally speaking, it is meant, that no being that is invisible can properly be an object of worship. How all the arguments which Popery has ever devised, in defence of *image worship*, fade and vanish, in comparison of the bright and overpowering evidence which this reasoning supplies!

By this time the reader must be sufficiently aware of the great value of this *Improved ver-*

sion of the New Testament; and it may accordingly be safely dismissed: more particularly as *Dr. Nares*'s valuable *Remarks* render all farther criticism upon the work nearly superfluous. And yet, before I finally take my leave of it, I must do it the justice to say, that there are criticisms, the production of certain Unitarian commentators, which are too bold even for *its* adoption. Of this, one striking instance is to be found in the translation of Acts xx. 28., in which the Editors prefer the safer mode of evading the admission of our Lord's divinity, by reading Κυρίου instead of Θεοῦ, *Lord* instead of *God.* Mr. Wakefield, on the contrary, contends strenuously for Θεοῦ, and afterwards effects his escape from the consequence, by proposing two of the most extraordinary criticisms that were ever ventured by a Greek scholar. Τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος, he renders, not *his own blood,* but, *his own son,* because, truly, a man's *son* may be said to be *his own blood;* and, therefore, the *son* of GOD may be expressed by GOD'S OWN BLOOD,—an expression which, had it been used of GOD THE FATHER by a *Trinitarian* in defence of *his* doctrine, would have subjected him to Mr. Wakefield's ineffable contempt. Mr. W. supplies also another mode of getting rid of the difficulty, (that is, the difficulty of acknowledging the divinity of our Lord,) viz. that of translating the words, "by the blood of his own," (supplying the word *Son.*)—This, observe, is the rendering of διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος.

So much for the most celebrated scholar of the modern Unitarian school, which England has produced.—The reader will be rewarded for his trouble in looking into *Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek Article*, p. 418—428., on this passage. In truth, I refer most willingly to this work, as to one which will supply to the Scripture student some of the most valuable helps to the critical investigation of the Text of the New Testament, which can be derived from any modern publication.

ON THE FIRST TWO CHAPTERS OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.

Having been led, in the foregoing observations, to advert to the rejection, by the Unitarian Editors, of the portion which follows the genealogy in the first two chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, I deem it not unadvisable to offer here a few remarks upon the subject of those chapters, which, without going at length into the proof of their authenticity, will, I trust, be found sufficient to supply at once a satisfactory assurance on that head. Dr. Marsh, in his ninth lecture, observes, that if we turn to the second volume of *Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ*, we shall find a quotation from the *first* chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and a reference to the *second*, made by *Celsus*

the Epicurean philosopher, which quotation and reference are noted by *Origen*, who wrote in answer to Celsus. *Griesbach*, he adds, justly remarks, "Hinc patet duo priora Matthæi capita Celso nota fuisse." And, with no less justice on his own part, he deduces the following inference: — that if Celsus, who wrote his celebrated work against the Christians in the time of Marcus Aurelius, and consequently little more than an hundred years after St. Matthew himself wrote, yet found the first two chapters in *his* manuscript of St. Matthew's Gospel, those chapters must either have been *original* parts of St. Matthew's Gospel, or they must have been added at a time so little antecedent to the age of Celsus, that a writer so inquisitive, so sagacious, and at the same time so inimical to Christianity, could not have failed to *detect* the imposture. But that, in this case, he would not have quoted those chapters as parts of St. Matthew's Gospel. And consequently, that the truth must lie in the *other* part of the dilemma, namely, that those chapters are authentic. — *Course of Lectures*, Part ii. pp. *55*, *56*.

To this reasoning of the learned and able Professor nothing can be added, which will give greater force to his conclusion. In point of fact, however, it is important to observe, that we are not left to a single quotation from the *first*, and a single reference to the *second*, chapter of St. Matthew, for the proof that these two chapters

were known to and admitted by Celsus. In truth, we find, from Origen's refutation of that author's charges against Christianity, that his references to those chapters were so numerous, as nearly to supply a perfect detail of the facts which *they* relate. See *Origen against Celsus*, pp. 108. 119. 125. 134. 139. 184. 189. 192. 208. The reader, who may dislike the trouble of referring to Origen's work for the proof of this, will probably acquiesce in the following recapitulation given by Lardner of the testimony borne by Celsus to the facts recorded in the first two chapters of St. Matthew.

"We learn from him" (Celsus) "that Christ was born of a virgin, in a small village of Judea, supposed to have been descended from the Jewish kings; that she was married to a carpenter; that for some while her husband was doubtful about her chastity; that Chaldeans, or other wise men from the East, came to Jerusalem soon after his nativity, to do him homage as King of the Jews, having been excited to that journey by the appearance of a star; that Herod, moved by jealousy, put to death many young children, hoping to kill Jesus with them; that by direction of an angel he was carried by his parents into Egypt for the preservation of his life; where, as Celsus insinuates, Jesus learned the charms practised in that country. He calls Jesus the Nazaræan man, or man of Nazareth, from the place where he was brought up and chiefly resided before his

appearance in a public character." — See *Lardner's Works*, vol. viii. pp. 10, 11. 19—22. 58, 59.; and for a yet more particularised detail by Dr. Doddridge, see ibid. p. 63.

Now, what is this, but an abridgement of the history given by the Evangelist? Indeed, the testimony thus borne by Celsus is so irresistible, that its application is not denied even by those writers who most strenuously oppose themselves to the authenticity of the first two chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel. Thus, *Dr. Williams*, in his *Free Enquiry*, p. 49., when urging his objections strongly against those chapters, asserts, that "we have no *certain* references or allusions to them, *till* the days of Celsus the Epicurean, about the year 150 or later." That the reference made by Celsus to these chapters is *certain* and *undoubted*, is, then, plainly admitted. As to the *lateness* of that reference, the drawback thence arising will not be considered very formidable, when it is recollected, that the date of Celsus's work is not removed from that of St. Matthew's Gospel by more than one hundred years, nor from the death of St. John by more than fifty; and when, in addition to this, the remarks already quoted from Dr. Marsh are held in remembrance. But imaginary as this drawback is, yet cannot even this be conceded to Dr. Williams; the very reverse of his allegation being the truth. For we *do* find *certain* references to the first two

chapters of St. Matthew *before* the date of Celsus's work.

In the first place, we find them numerous and decisive in the writings of *Justin Martyr:* so much so, indeed, as nearly to supply a recapitulation of all the facts related in those chapters; and in such language as clearly to prove, that from those chapters the information of the writer was principally derived. The very words also of St. Matthew are sometimes quoted with a precision so unequivocal as to determine the source of the quotations. Passages and phrases which occur in St. Matthew only, and applications of the prophecies of Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah, which are made by no other Evangelist, are adopted by Justin; and adopted by him with a literal adherence to St. Matthew's text; and, what renders the demonstration perfect, with a literal adherence in those very citations from the Old Testament, in which St. Matthew has departed from the words both of the Hebrew and the Septuagint. (See *Just. Mart.* pp. 53, 54. 304—307., and the observations upon these parts of Justin, p. 449—454. of this volume.) These references to St. Matthew are contained in Justin's *First Apology*, presented by him to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, in the beginning of his reign, and in his *Dialogue with Trypho;* both of which are supposed by the best commentators to have been written about the year 140. Thus we have tra-

velled nearer to the age of the Apostles; and in truth we come nearer still, if we consider that Justin's testimony, though not published till the year 140, may fairly be carried back to the period at which he became a Christian; inasmuch as we must suppose him at that time well acquainted with the Christian Scriptures, which must in fact have been the means of his conversion; and consequently cannot easily imagine, that what was not then conceived to form a part of St. Matthew's Gospel, could be afterwards received by him as such. In this view of the case, the authority of Justin's testimony reaches backwards nearly to the year 130.

To a date equally early may be referred the testimony of the Composer, (or perhaps I might more properly say), the Christianizer of the *Sibylline Oracles;* who, as Lardner justly observes, was manifestly acquainted with the first two chapters of St. Matthew. For a few extracts from this work, see pp. 455, 456. of this volume. The objection, that this collection, or at least a part of it, was the forgery of a Christian writer, instead of detracting from its value, supplies the very circumstance which renders it admissible as evidence in the cause; since otherwise, (were it, what it professes to be, strictly prophetical,) its similarity to any other written document could afford no proof of that document's previous existence. The only point, which it is important to establish, is the date to be assigned to this col-

lection: and, that it existed from an early period of the second century, may be fairly deduced from the authorities collected by Lardner. Celsus makes the interpolation of these Oracles a subject of reproach against Christians. And Justin quotes them in matters relating to Christian doctrine. I shall not, however, dwell upon the testimony which these writings present; but proceed to that, which brings us back within the limits of the Apostolic age, and which offers itself with an authority not inferior to that of Apostolic origin: —I mean the testimony of *Ignatius*.

This Apostolic Father, who suffered martyrdom at Rome in the tenth of Trajan, that is, in the year 107 (see *Lardner*, vol. ii. p. 69.), we find, in his (genuine) Epistle to the Ephesians, plainly referring to the history of the Virgin Mary's miraculous conception of our Lord, and to the appearance of the star which so wonderfully announced his birth. (See *Patr. Apost.* vol. ii. pp. 38. 94. 110. 112. 114.) In the larger Epistle also (ibid. part 4. p. 78.), we find an exact quotation of the passage in Matth. i. 23.: on which, however, I will not lay particular stress, as the larger Epistles of this Father are, and not unjustly, suspected of interpolation, and therefore this quotation may possibly be of spurious origin. We have now travelled back within about forty years from the publication of St. Matthew's Gospel; and we have the testimony of a contemporary and associate of the Apostles, one who out-

lived the Apostle John but by six or seven years, who had received the teaching of the Apostles, who had been appointed by the Apostles themselves to the Bishopric of Antioch, the first and oldest Christian Church among the Gentiles; appointed to it within less than ten years from the date of St. Matthew's Gospel (see *Lardner*, vol. ii. p. 66.), and who himself, like the Apostles, died a martyr to the truth of the religion which he professed. We have, then, in fact, what amounts to Apostolic testimony for the truth and authenticity of the disputed chapters of St. Matthew. Yet, strange to say, a deficiency in this very respect has been alleged as an objection against their authenticity.

It is urged by Dr. Williams, that the *silence* of the Apostolical Fathers supplies an argument of this nature. It is true, indeed, he does not here mean to include Ignatius, having made *his* testimony the subject of a distinct inquiry. He speaks only of the other Fathers; and, of these, he adds that, without which their silence could afford no semblance of an argument whatever; namely, that they "often cite and refer to other parts of St. Matthew's Gospel, and had frequent occasion, in their debates with Jewish unbelievers, to refer, also, to the first and second chapters, had they known or acknowledged them to be genuine." (*Free Enq.* p. 103.) And in another place (p. 93.) he says, that, "as these Fathers frequently had occasion to speak of the family and birth of

Christ, it is hardly credible, that none of them should have referred to those chapters, had they been extant, and acknowledged to be the composition of St. Matthew."

Now, the direct opposite of both the assertions herein contained is precisely the fact. For, in the first place, the references made by these Fathers to St. Matthew's Gospel are extremely few; and, in the next place, they are in no part of their writings engaged in any debate or discussion whatever on the subject of the birth of Christ: (both of which points shall be more particularly adverted to at the conclusion of these remarks.) So that, were any inference to be drawn from the silence of these Fathers upon the subjects contained in the first two chapters of St. Matthew, it should rather be, that on those subjects no controversies existed at that day, the facts related in those chapters being acquiesced in without dispute: this, I say, should be the natural inference, when we find the facts familiarly alluded to by the only one of the Apostolical Fathers whose subject led him to refer to them, — Ignatius; and again by Justin, who immediately succeeded the times of those Fathers, and who, in truth, wrote both his *First Apology* and his *Dialogue with Trypho* before the death of one of them, namely, Polycarp.

Many have been the occasions on which I have found myself compelled, in the course of these volumes, to protest against the disingenuousness

of Unitarian critics in their treatment of ancient authorities; but, perhaps, there is no one, against whom such a protest is more loudly demanded, than against the writer whose objections I have been engaged in noticing. — The foregoing observations, coupled with those which will be found subjoined to these remarks, will probably appear to most readers sufficient to substantiate this charge; and yet they supply but a small part of what might be adduced in its support. At the same time, it remains to be remarked, that, notwithstanding the strained exertions of this writer against the authenticity of the introductory chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, he affords but very imperfect aid to the Editors of the Unitarian Version; inasmuch as his arguments are principally directed against the genealogy, which they retain as genuine; and the proofs, by which he endeavours to overturn St. Matthew's relation of the circumstances attending the miraculous nativity of our Lord, are built upon the assumed genuineness of the history of the same event as given by St. Luke: so that, if Dr. Williams be right in his results, the Editors are wrong in theirs: wrong in retaining the genealogy of St. Matthew, and wrong in rejecting the first two chapters of St. Luke.

But to return to our immediate subject. We have seen that the testimony supporting the authenticity of the first two chapters of St. Matthew

carries us back to the age of the Apostles. A farther confirmation is had from the Syriac Version, the date of which is justly referred to the same early age, and in which, as in every other Version of St. Matthew, (including the *Old Italic*, whose antiquity is also unquestioned,) those two chapters are found to exist. And, that evidence might not be wanting from any description of the early writers, we have the testimony of a *Hebrew* Christian, *Hegesippus;* who, as Eusebius informs us, was amongst the first successors of the Apostles; and who is described by Gobar, as Ἀρχαιός τε ἀνὴρ καὶ ἀποστόλικος. In a fragment of this writer, we have a reference to part of the history in the second chapter of St. Matthew; from which Lardner pronounces, that it "appears plainly, that this part of St. Matthew's Gospel was owned by this Hebrew Christian:" so that, he adds, "he must either have used our Greek Gospel, or, if he used only the Hebrew edition of St. Matthew, this history must have been in it in his time." (*Lard. Works*, vol. ii. p. 143.)

How, then, stands the evidence upon the whole? The Syriac Version, which is one of Apostolical antiquity, and the Old Italic, both contain the two chapters. Ignatius, the only Apostolical Father who had occasion to make reference to them, does so. The Sibylline oracles do the same. Justin Martyr does the same. Celsus, the bitter enemy of the Christian faith,

does the same. Hegesippus, a Hebrew Christian, does the same. Irenæus, and all the Fathers who succeed him, it is admitted on all hands, do the same. And the chapters are at this day found in every unmutilated manuscript and every Version of the Gospel of St. Matthew which is extant throughout the world. Thus we have one continued and unbroken series of testimony from the days of the Apostles to the present time; and, in opposition to this, we find only a vague report of the state of a Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, said to be received amongst an obscure and unrecognised description of Hebrew Christians, who are admitted, even by the very writers who claim the support of their authority, to have mutilated the copy which they possessed, by removing the genealogy.

I should not have dwelt so long upon a subject, which is at this day so fully ascertained as the authenticity of the first two chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, did it not furnish a fair opportunity of exhibiting the species of evidence which Unitarian critics are capable of resisting, and the sort of arguments with which they do not scruple to resist it.

I have mentioned above, that the first two chapters of St. Matthew are found in all the unmutilated MSS. that are extant. To those, hitherto commonly known, a late discovery in the library of the University of Dublin enables me to add the testimony of one more, and that

of considerable antiquity. For this discovery the public is indebted to the great industry and accurate research of the Rev. Dr. Barret, Vice-Provost of Trinity College. This manuscript, which is a *codex rescriptus*, contains the Gospel of St. Matthew in the most ancient Greek character, of which a fac simile has been published by the University: and it has been satisfactorily shown by the learned Editor not to be of later date than the sixth century. In this MS. we find the first two chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, with the exception of some parts wanting from mutilation: namely, the first sixteen verses of the first chapter, and from the seventh to the twelfth, and from the twentieth to the twenty-third, verse of the second chapter. — It is a circumstance worthy of observation, that Dr. Williams, speaking of this manuscript, of which he had received an account previous to its publication, observes, "no information concerning *our inquiry* can be derived from this manuscript." (*Free Enq.* p. xxi.) Now the course of the inquiry had been to discover MSS. that could justify the *rejection* of the first two chapters of St. Matthew, or, at least, of the genealogy. For that purpose, undoubtedly, this MS. could yield no information: but for that which ought to be the purpose of an inquirer, it affords full information; viz. information of the fact, that, at the date of the manuscript, the genealogy and the whole of the first two chapters

of St. Matthew were deemed by its writer to be authentic, and were found as a genuine part of the Gospel in the MS. from which it was copied.

In support of what has been asserted (pp. 440, 441.) concerning *Justin Martyr*'s reference to St. Matthew's Gospel, the following remarks will probably be deemed satisfactory.

The quotation from Isaiah vii. 14., by *Justin Martyr*, is as follows: Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει, καὶ τέξεται υἱὸν· καὶ ἐροῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός. (p. 53.) In another place (p. 223.) this is quoted with some little variation, λήψεται being read for ἕξει, and there being added after υἱὸν, the words, καὶ καλέσεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ. Now St. Matthew, and he only of the writers of the New Testament, has quoted this prophecy. Both he and Justin quote it in the same application. Both quote it in the *third* person, instead of the *second* (*thou shalt call*), in which it is given by both the Hebrew and Septuagint of the Prophet; and, what is most remarkable, both annex the interpretation of *Emmanuel* in the very same words, μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεὸς, *God with us*. So that, upon the whole, there can be no reasonable doubt of Justin's having taken the quotation from St. Matthew; as well from their mutual agreement in general,

as from their common departure from, and common addition to, the text of the prophet as it stands both in the Hebrew and the Greek.

Again, in p. 54., Justin relates the declaration of the Angel to the Virgin in the manner described both by St. Matthew and St. Luke; and, having, through the first part of it, used the expressions of both indifferently, he concludes with these words, καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν, αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν; which last clause contains the very words of St. Matthew; words to be found in no other writer of the New Testament. Justin, moreover, to prove that he was giving a quotation from the Evangelists, adds, "as *they* have taught us, who have written the history of all things concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ:" hereby clearly announcing, that he derived his information from more than one of the sacred historians, and therefore manifestly pointing out both St. Matthew and St. Luke, who only of the sacred historians had related the story of the angel's address to Mary. And yet, what is Dr. Williams's observation upon this passage of Justin?—"The words supposed to be here cited from St. Matthew are, *For he shall save his people from their sins.* This, however, is by no means certain; for all the other parts of the quotation are taken out of St. Luke, though in a manner somewhat disordered. These words, therefore, may be no more than a *loose citation,* by memory, from St. Luke, or a reference

to some other passages of the same writer, see Acts iv. 12. x. 43. The *thought* occurs in a variety of places in the New Testament; so that we are not necessarily obliged to conclude that there is an allusion to St. Matthew, and to no other Evangelist." He adds also, in a note, that the "manner in which the writers of the New Testament make citations from the Old plainly shows that they often quoted from memory." (*Free Enq.* p. 98.)—Here is surely most extraordinary reasoning. The *very* words of St. Matthew, *to a letter*, are used by Justin. The same words are employed by no other writer of the New Testament: And yet there is reason to think that this precise repetition of St. Matthew is not a quotation from him, but rather a *loose citation* from St. Luke, who has not used any terms resembling them. And, because the *thought* occurs in various places of the New Testament, we are not obliged to conclude that there is an allusion to St. Matthew, who is the only writer that has used the *words:* and this too, although Justin tells us, that he quotes from the Evangelists, at the same time that it must be admitted, that no other than Matthew and Luke can be alluded to: the one of whom does not at all employ the words in question, and the other does most accurately.

Dr. Williams, indeed, in a note, adds, that "Justin also *seems* to allude to the Arabian Magi, Matth. ii. 11., in his dialogue with Trypho, p. 315, &c., but it may be only an allusion to a common

tradition." (*Free Enq.* p. 98.)—Now the reader will be surprised to learn, that this *seeming* allusion to the passage in Matth. ii. 11. concerning the Arabian Magi, is almost an exact transcript of that part of St. Matthew's history, and in several places conveyed in the very words of St. Matthew. The Magi, speaking of the king, whose birth was signified by the appearance of the star, tell Herod in the precise terms of the Evangelist, καὶ ἦλθομεν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ: and having come to Bethlehem, and fallen down and worshipped the young child, they are described by Justin as bringing their gifts, in the very language of St. Matthew; προσηνεγκαν αὐτῷ δῶρα, χρυσὸν, καὶ λίβανον, καὶ σμύρναν: and again, being warned in a vision not to return to Herod, they are described by Justin, as returning into their own country by a different way, in almost the very words of the Evangelist likewise, δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. See Matth. ii. 2. 11, 12. and Justin, pp. 304, 305. 307.; which last pages, indeed, whoever reads, will be instantly satisfied, that St. Matthew is scarcely out of the view of the writer in a single line. It is true, indeed, that it is not to this part of Justin that Dr. Williams has referred, when he has spoken of the *seeming* allusion to the Magi, but to p. 315. C. Colon. 1686: that is, to p. 330. of the edition here cited. But why did not Dr. Williams take care to inform himself of what Justin did say, before he ventured to pronounce what he did not say? More, how-

ever, yet remains. We find in this history, as given by Justin, two prophecies applied, which are applied by none else than St. Matthew; and we find, also, that these prophecies are cited in the words of St. Matthew, and not in those of the prophets by whom they were delivered. What can be proof, if this be not?—1. In like manner as in St. Matthew, we there find Herod, when alarmed by the report of the wise men, consulting the scribes and elders; who inform him, that Christ was to be born in Bethlehem, for that the Prophet had said, Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ, γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα, ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου. See *Matt.* ii. 6., and *Justin*, pp. 55. 305. Now, in this citation of the prophecy, the Evangelist and the Martyr agree in every letter; whilst the prophecy itself, as given by the LXX, runs differently, thus; Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ οἶκος τοῦ Ἐφραθα, ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰούδα· ἐκ μοι ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραήλ. *Alex.*—2. When describing the slaughter of the children at Bethlehem, and the consequent fulfilment of Jeremiah's prophecy, *Justin* thus quotes the prophecy: Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾶ ἠκούσθη, κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὀδυρμὸς πολύς· Ῥαχὴλ κλαίουσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελε παρακληθῆναι, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσί. See *Justin*, p. 307. and *Matt.* ii. 18. Here, also, we have a complete agreement between Justin and St. Matthew, with this single exception, that the words Θρῆνος καὶ, found in the common

readings of St. Matthew, are here wanting. But it should be at the same time noted, that these words are likewise wanting in some manuscripts and many versions of St. Matthew; and that Griesbach marks them as most probably to be expunged from the text of the Evangelist. Now, on the other hand, how stands the prophecy itself, as rendered by the Seventy? Φωνὴ ἐν Ῥαμᾶ ἠκούσθη θρήνου, καὶ κλαυθμοῦ, καὶ ὀδυρμοῦ, Ῥαχὴλ ἀποκλαιομένης ἐπὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν παρακληθῆναι, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν. — *Alex.* — or, as in *Vatic.* ἀποκλαιομένη οὐκ ἤθελε παύσασθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῆς, ὅτι οὐκ εἰσίν. — These remarkable passages in *Justin*, it must be observed, have been altogether unnoticed by Dr. Williams. — What then, upon the whole, is to be judged, concerning the likelihood of Justin's having quoted from St. Matthew, and concerning the accuracy of Dr. Williams's examination of this subject, — it cannot be necessary further to discuss.

At p. 441. of this volume, the *Sibylline Oracles* have been referred to. A few extracts from those oracles are here subjoined. In the eighth book are to be found several passages relating to the nativity of Christ. The angel Gabriel is there described, as visiting Mary the mother of our Lord, and foretelling the miraculous production of the Saviour: and the birth of this illustrious deliverer, at Bethlehem, of a virgin mother, is

detailed at length. To this detail is added what follows.

Καινοφανὴς δὲ μάγοισι σεβάσθη θέσφατος ἀςήρ.
Σπαργανωθὲν δὲ βρέφος, δείχθη θεοπειθέσι φάτνῃ.
Καὶ λόγου ἑ Βεθλεὲμ πατρὶς θεόκλητος ἐλέχθη,
Βουτελάταις τε καὶ αἰγονόμοις καὶ ποιμέσιν ἀρνῶν.

p. 258.

In the same work also, in the first book, we find the incarnation of the Son of God; and the name, Ἰησοῦς, by which, in his human form, he was to be known to men, thus described:—

Δὴ τότε καὶ μεγάλοιο Θεοῦ παῖς ἀνθρώποισιν
Ἥξει σαρκοφόρος, θνητοῖς ὁμοιούμενος ἐν γῇ.
Τέσσαρα φωνήεντα φέρει· τὰ δ' ἄφωνα δύ' αὐτῷ.

Dr. Williams refers to both the above passages; and admits, that there are *many* which relate to the birth of Christ. Yet he contends, that they are *all* evidently taken from St. Luke's Gospel, one only excepted; namely, that one first cited above, which states, that "the wondrous new star that appeared was revered by the wise men:" and this he endeavours to explain away, as being derivable from the general tradition, and therefore not necessarily to be traced to St. Matthew's Gospel. (*Free Enq.* p. 97.)—Dr. Williams has, however, been rather unfortunate in the assertion, that every circumstance noticed in this work concerning the history of Christ, with the single exception just made, is taken from the Gospel of St. Luke. Had he

examined the *Sybilline Oracles* for himself, and not contented himself with looking to the extracts given by Lardner, he would have discovered his assertion to be untenable; he would have found one passage, at least, alluding to a fact not recorded by St. Luke, nor by any Evangelist but St. Matthew, that of the preservation of the infant Jesus by the flight into Egypt.

τότε σῆμα βροτοῖσιν
Εσαι ἐξαίφνης, ὁπόταν πεφυλαγμένος ἦξῃ
Εκ γῆς Αἰγύπτοιο καλὸς λίθος· ἐν δ' ἄρα τούτῳ
Λαὸς προσκόψει ἑβραίων, ἔθνη δ' ἀγροοῦνται
Αὐτοῦ ὑφηγήσει.

pp. 65, 66.

It has been asserted at p. 444., that "the references made by the *Apostolical Fathers* to St. Matthew's Gospel are extremely few;" and that, (with an exception in the case of Ignatius) "these Fathers are, in no part of their writings, engaged in any debate or discussion whatever on the subject of the *birth* of Christ." The truth of these positions will be manifest on a short review. The *Apostolical Fathers* are *five*, Barnabas, Clement, Hermas, Ignatius, and Polycarp. Now, first, as to *St. Barnabas;* the greatest number of *possible* references made by this Father to St. Matthew's Gospel amounts to *eight:*

and, in the opinion of Lardner, those, that may with any strength of probability be considered as such, do not exceed *four*, viz. Matth. xvi. 24.; xx. 16.; v. 42.; ix. 13. And neither in these, nor in any allusion of this Father to any part of the New Testament, is there to be found any thing controversial respecting the birth or history of Christ. That the reader may satisfy himself as to this fact, I subjoin the several passages, to which, in addition to those above enumerated, St. Barnabas can be supposed to have referred. Matth. xxii. 43, 44., xxiv. 22., xxv. 5, 6. 10., xxvi. 31.; Luke vi. 30.; Acts x. 42.; Rom. iv. 3., v. 16., ix. 10, 11, 12., xi. 36., xv. 8.; 1 Cor. iii. 16., xi. 20.; 2 Cor. v. 17.; Eph. ii. 2., v. 16, 17.; Phil. iv. 5.; 2 Tim. i. 10.; Heb. iii. 5., x. 25.; 1 Pet. i. 17., ii. 5.; 2 Pet. iii. 10.; Rev. xxii. 12.

2. As to *St. Clement*. In the Epistle, which, as Bishop of Rome, he addressed to the Church of Corinth, we find but *four* references to the Gospel of St. Matthew; viz. vii. 1, 2. 12., ix. 42., xviii. 6., xxvi. 24. And neither in these, nor in any allusions to other parts of the New Testament, do we meet with any matter connected with the history of the birth of Christ, or relating to any object but that of moral and religious improvement, and the enforcement of Christian rules of conduct. The passages supposed to be alluded to by this Father are, in addition to those already specified, these which

follow: — Luke vi. 36, 37, 38., xvii. 2.; Acts xiii. 22., xx. 35.; Rom. i. 29, 30. 32., ii. 20., ix. 4, 5., xiv. 1. 3., xv. 1.; 1 Cor. i. 12., x. 24., xii. 12. 15. 22. 24., xiii. 4., xv. 20.; 2 Cor. iii. 18., viii. 5., x. 17, 18., xi. 24, 25.; Gal. i. 4.; Eph. iv. 4, 5, 6.; Phil. i. 10., ii. 5, 6, 7.; Col. i. 10.; 1 Thes. v. 18. 23.; 1 Tim. ii. 8., iii. 13., v. 4.; 2 Tim. i. 9.; Tit. iii. 1.; Heb. i. 3, 4, 5. 7. 13., iii. 2. 5., iv. 12., vi. 18., xi. 5. 7, 8. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37. 39., xii. 1, 2. 6. 9, 10, 11.; James i. 5, 6, 7, 8., ii. 21. 23., iii. 13., iv. 3, 4. 6.; 1 Pet. iv. 8., v. 5.; 2 Pet. ii. 5, 6, 7. 9., iii. 4.

[This Father's allusion to one of the above passages, Gal. i. 4., I insert here, though not connected with the present subject, as throwing a strong light upon the sense, which, in those apostolic days, was assigned to the phrase, *giving himself* FOR *us*, as applied to the sacrifice of Christ. Διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην ἣν ἔσχεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, ἐν θελήματι Θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν σάρκα ὑπὲρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. — *Patr. Apost.* vol. i. pp. 189, 190. — *Through the love which he had for us, Jesus Christ our Lord, by the will of God, gave his blood for us: his flesh for our flesh, his soul for our soul.* The reader will please to carry this exposition of the passage of Galatians i. 4. back to p. 236 —268. of vol. i., where the substitutive force of the word ὑπὲρ has been already considered.]

3. In the *Shepherd of Hermas* we meet with

allusions (most of them remote) to *ten* passages of St. Matthew at the most: viz. Matt. v. 28. 42., x. 32, 33., xiii. 5, 6, 7. 20, 21, 22. 31, 32., xviii. 3, 4., xix. 23, 24., xxiii. 6., xxviii. 18. The other parts of the New Testament to which this Father may be supposed to allude, are the following: — Mark ix. 50.; Luke xiii. 24, 25., xvi. 18.; John xiv. 6.; Acts v. 41.; Rom. viii. 11., ix. 4., xi. 29., xv. 7.; 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17.; vii. 11. 15.; 2 Cor. vii. 10.; Gal. iii. 27.; Eph. iv. 4. 30, 31.; Philip. iv. 18.; Col. i. 15, 16.; 1 Thess. v. 13.; 2 Tim. i. 14., iv. 18.; Heb. xii. 17.; James i. 5., ii. 7., iii. 15. 17., iv. 2, 3, 4. 7. 12., v. 1, 2. 4.; 1 Pet. i. 6, 7., iii. 15., v. 7.; 2 Pet. ii. 15. 20.; 1 John ii. 27., iv. 6., v. 6.; 2 John 4.; 3 John 3, 4.; Jude 21. 24. There are expressions also in this Father resembling several in the book of Revelation. But in none of these allusions to the books of the New Testament, do we find the author concerned with any other than topics of moral and religious exhortation.

4. In those *Epistles of Ignatius* which are received as genuine, there are to be discovered, besides the allusions to the first two chapters of St. Matthew noticed at p. 442. of this volume, but *six* passages of that Evangelist to which this Father can be supposed to refer: viz. iii. 15., x. 16., xii. 33., xviii. 19, 20., xix. 12. In addition to these, he may be considered as referring to the following parts of the other Gospels and of the Epistles. Luke xiv. 27.; John iii. 8., viii. 29., x. 9., xii. 49., xvi. 11. 28.; Acts x. 41.; Rom.

viii. 38, 39., xv. 7.; 1 Cor. i. 10. 18, 19, 20., iv. 4., v. 7., vi. 9, 10., xv. 8.; 2 Cor. v. 14, 15.; Gal. i. 1., v. 4.; Eph. ii. 22., iv. 3, 4, 5., v. 2. 25. 29., vi. 13, 14. 16, 17.; Philip. i. 21., ii. 3. 5.; Col. i. 7.; 1 Thess. v. 17.; 2 Tim. i. 16. 18., ii. 4., Tit. ii. 3.; Philem. 20.; Heb. x. 28, 29., xiii. 9.; 1 Pet. v. 5.; 1 John i. 2.; 3 John 2. Of these, as of the passages of the New Testament alluded to by the Fathers before named, it is to be remarked, that none are connected with any discussion concerning the nativity of our Lord. And the allusions, which this Father (as observed at p. 442.) *has* made to that subject, will be found, upon examination, not to have been studiously and formally brought forward for the purpose of *proving* the miraculous circumstances of our Lord's birth, as if they were at that time not generally assented to; but introduced familiarly and unqualifiedly, as relating to a fact well known, and about which no difference of opinion prevailed, or at least none that demanded a more detailed consideration.

Lastly, with respect to *Polycarp*, of whose writings the *Epistle to the Philippians* is the only one that has been preserved; his references to St. Matthew are as follow: Matt. v. 3. 7. 10. 44., vi. 12, 13, 14, 15., vii. 1, 2., xxvi. 41. These relate merely to matter of religious exhortation and enforcement, as do his remaining references to other parts of the New Testament; namely, Acts ii. 24.; Rom. xii. 17., xiii. 9, 10., xiv. 10.

12.; 1 Cor. v. 11., vi. 2. 9, 10.; 2 Cor. iv. 14., vi. 7., viii. 21.; Gal. i. 1., iv. 26.; vi. 7.; Ephes. ii. 8. 9., iv. 26.; Philip. ii. 10, 11. 16.; Col. i. 28.; 1 Thess. v. 17. 22.; 2 Thess. iii. 15.; 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2., vi. 7. 10.; 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12., iv. 10.; Heb. iv. 12, 13.; 1 Pet. i. 8. 13. 21.; 1 Pet. ii. 11, 12. 17. 22. 24., iii. 9. 14., iv. 5. 7., v. 5.; 1 John ii. 7., iv. 3.; Jude 3.

The purposes, for which the Apostolical Fathers referred to the New Testament, will readily be discerned by a review of the passages to which they can be supposed to have alluded, and which have been here very fully enumerated. In truth, so far are they from having had occasion to refer to such parts of Scripture as relate to the family and birth of Christ, that, with the exception of Ignatius, their subjects in no instance lead them to any discussion, or even notice, of these points. The Epistle of Barnabas consists of two parts: the one exhorting to constancy in the belief and profession of the Christian doctrine *without the rites of the Jewish law*; and the other containing a course of Moral instructions. (See *Menard. Judic. de S. Barn. Patr. Apost.* vol. i. p. xxviii.) The Epistle of Clement is designed to compose dissensions, which had sprung up in the church of Corinth respecting spiritual governors; and is principally occupied in recommending peace, and harmony, and humility, and faith, and all the virtues of a Christian life. The writings of Hermas consist of visions, mandates, and simi-

litudes, all totally unconnected with the person and history of Christ. The short letter of Polycarp, which is scarcely of sufficient bulk to fill ten octavo pages, is entirely employed in godly exhortation. And in the genuine Epistles of Ignatius, in which heretical opinions are adverted to, we find that Father opposing to those opinions the fact of our Lord's miraculous birth, agreeably to the account given of it by St. Matthew; and opposing that fact as decisive and unanswerable in argument, whilst it is itself assumed as a matter about which there was no dispute. That the heretical opinions, moreover, against which he had to contend, were not those which maintained the simple humanity of Christ, but those, on the contrary, which denied his human nature altogether, and the *reality* of his suffering and resurrection, seems fairly deducible from the entire tenor and language of his Epistles, and more especially from the 11th section of his Epistle to the Magnesians, in which he lays particular stress on these things having been *done truly and certainly*, πραχθέντα ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως.*

* On the subject of the above paragraph, I cannot forbear recommending to the reader an excellent work of the late Mr. Wilson, of St. John's College, Cambridge, on the *Method of Explaining the New Testament by the early Opinions of Jews and Christians concerning Christ.* Let him look particularly to p. 357. and the argument connected therewith. I cannot but think that this ingenious writer has taken a juster view than that which even the learned

How little, then, upon the whole, these early Fathers had to do with establishing the truth of the history relating to "the family and birth of Christ;" how little they were, in their writings, concerned in "debates with Jewish *unbelievers;*" how little they were urged to the necessity of "referring to the first two chapters of St. Matthew," and how little, consequently, Dr. Williams is at liberty to infer from the silence, which he attributes to them on the subject matter of those chapters, the conclusion that they are spurious, — I leave to the reader to determine.

That he may form the better judgment of the value of the argument derived from the silence of the Apostolical Fathers concerning any assigned portion of Scripture, I shall conclude with transcribing some observations of the industrious and cautious Lardner, upon the subject of their writings. (*Works*, vol. ii. pp. 103, 104.) — "All these are but short pieces. The largest is the Shepherd of Hermas, which is almost as large as all the rest put together. But it was inconsistent with the nature of that work for the writer to *quote* books. All these pieces, except the Shepherd of Hermas, are *epistles* written to *Christians;* who, it is likely, needed not at that time to be particularly informed what books they ought to

---

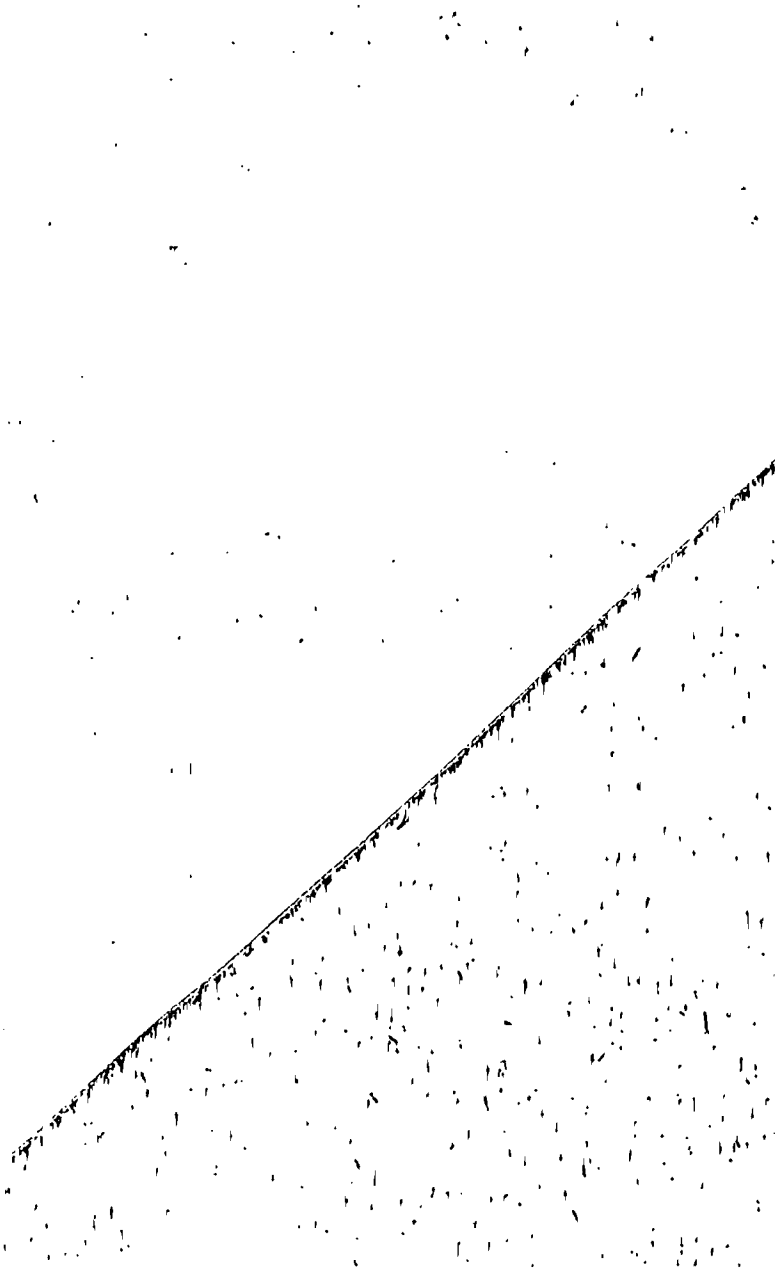
Bishop Pearson, the great vindicator of Ignatius's writings, has formed, of the nature of the heresies with which this ancient Father had to contend.

receive; but only to be admonished to attend to the things contained in them, and to maintain their respect for them, as is here often done." From these and other particulars, he proceeds to say, — "it is apparent, that these Apostolical Fathers have not omitted to take notice of any book of the New Testament, which, as far as we are able to judge, their design led them to mention. Their silence, therefore, about any other books can be no prejudice to their genuineness, if we shall hereafter meet with credible testimonies to them." What has been here justly remarked respecting the books of Scripture, equally applies to portions of those books.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

00066989



Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 10 February, 2016